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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 April 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

TASS CITES PZPR ORGAN'S CONDEMNATION OF CATHOLIC CHURCH

LD012100 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 1 Apr 85

[Text] Warsaw April 1 TASS -- The Polish press continues publishing materials exposing the subversive activities of certain Catholic circles in Poland.

The newspaper "TRYBUNA LUDU" emphasises that the above-mentioned circles have set themselves as an object to struggle against the socialist state and its policy. Instigatory slogans are voiced from the ambos of Roman-Catholic churches, and attempts are made to bring about an intolerant attitude among Catholics towards persons who profess another religion and towards non-believers and to impose aggressive aspirations upon young people.

"TRYBUNA LUDU" points out that a kind of centers of church adventurism have formed in Poland of late. Over there, the process of unification of oppositionists is under way, and young people are being educated in a spirit which is hostile to the socialist system.

Political amendments are being introduced to religious hymns, and politicians who have nothing in common with the Catholic religion make speeches in some churches which have turned into places of political gatherings which are readily attended by western journalists.

Such kind of facts, the newspaper observes, give rise to well-founded indignation in party and society.

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ALBANIA

ACTIVITIES OF VIETNAMESE ASSEMBLY DELEGATION

Visits to Fier, Vlore

AU241616 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 24 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, 24 Mar (ATA)--The delegation of the National Assembly of the SR of Vietnam, headed by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho, went on a visit to Fier District on 23 March before noon.

During this visit he was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Pali Miska.

The Vietnamese guests were welcomed by chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council Dhimiter Brisku and chairmen of commissions at the District People's Council.

They paid their first visit to the power station where they got acquainted with the various projects and the successes attained by the collective in the realization of the tasks.

Afterwards the delegation made a visit to the "Gogo Nushi" ammonium nitrate plant. Passing through the workshops of this major project of our chemical industry, the Vietnamese guests met with and were greeted warmly by the workers, specialists, young men and women, who informed them of the achievements attained and the prospects of this plant during the next five-year plan. During the meetings the guests showed interest for the development of this important branch of the economy and voiced their admiration for the successes achieved. They saw the health center of the plant and evaluated the special care shown for the working conditions and for the health of the workers. "In this really modern plant," the head of the Vietnamese delegation Nguyen Huu Tho said among others, "we become acquainted not only with the organization of the work but also with the special care of the party and the state power for the life of the workers. We admire your work and results."

On the occasion of the visit by the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Dhimiter Brisku gave a luncheon during which toasts were raised to the friendship between our two countries and peoples, to the strengthening and further development of the relations. The luncheon passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In the afternoon the delegation of the National Assembly of the SR of Vietnam headed by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho, arrived for a visit in the district of Vlore.

He was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Pali Miska.

The Vietnamese guests were received by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Luan Muhameti, by other leading cadres of the power organs in the district and deputies.

On the occasion of this visit the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council Luan Muhameti gave a dinner which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

During the visits made in the districts of Fier and Vlore, present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania, Huang Quoc Tinh.

#### Tours of Vlore, Berat

AU250853 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 25 Mar 85

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Tirana, 25 Mar (ATA)--On 24 March before noon, the delegation of the National Assembly of the SR of Vietnam led by the chairman of the assembly Nguyen Huu Tho continued its visits in Vlore District.

It was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Pali Miska.

The Vietnamese friends saw the plantation made in the terraces of Jonufra, where they got acquainted with the work made by our youth for its creation, the transformations made and the beautiful nature of the coast. They went also to the touristic spot of "Liria" Park.

"We had the honour to visit the hero city, said among others the chairman of the assembly of Vietnam, Nguyen Huu Tho, where Ismail Qemali raised the flag and proclaimed the independence, the birthplace of one of the most outstanding leaders of the Albanian party and state, Hysni Kapo. In continuation of the visits to our country, the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, led by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho, went for a visit to the city of Berat.

It was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party, Pali Miska.

The Vietnamese friends were welcomed by the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and first secretary of the party committee of the district, Mine Guri, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the district, Kristaq Kule as well as by other cadres of the power and deputies to the People's Assembly.

At the beginning they visited the museum hall, where the first democratic government of Albania is created and where the First Congress of the Albanian Women's Antifascist Union was held. This hall left special impression on them for the fact that it is maintained as it was on 22 October, 1944. Then the Vietnamese friends went to the exhibition of the economic and social development and to the figurative art gallery of the district where they were acquainted with the successes scored in all the fields of life under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

"Our delegation is very glad, said among others the chairman of the assembly of Vietnam Nguyen Huu Tho, that it visited the beautiful city of Berat, the city of one above one windows, [as received] the ancient and new city, the historic city where important events of the history of the Albanian people have taken place. We admire the great successes of the people of Berat and in the name of the delegation I am heading, I express to them our warmest sentiment.

On occasion of the visit of the delegation of the assembly of Vietnam led by the chairman of the assembly Nguyen Huu Tho, the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Mine Guri, gave a dinner.

Mine Guri, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Nguyen Huu Tho, chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam greeted and raised a toast to the friendship between our two peoples and countries.

Present in these visits was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania Huang Quoc Tin.

In the afternoon the Vietnamese friends left Berat and returned to Tirana.

#### Visits, Meetings in Tirana

AU260955 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] 26 Mar (ATA)--The delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, headed by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho made a visit to the "Enver Hoxha" automobile and tractor combine in Tirana yesterday. He was accompanied by the member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and secretary of the district party committee Faik Cinaj.

The Vietnamese friends were received by the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and director of the "Enver Hoxha" automobile and tractor combine Llambi Gegprifti.

Yesterday afternoon the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam headed by Nguyen Huu Tho visited the exhibition of the economic and cultural development of the PSR of Albania, where it was welcomed by the vice-chairman of the State Planning Commission, Bujar Koloneci. The delegation was accompanied by the vice-chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council Jashar Menzelxhiu and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj.

In the evening the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam headed by Nguyen Huu Tho attended the concert given by the ensemble of folk songs and dances at the opera and ballet theater.

Present were also the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party, Pali Miska, the minister of education and culture Tefta Cami and other comrades.

Received by Alia

AU260905 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, 26 Mar (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania and secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia received today at the Palace of Brigades the delegation of the National Assembly of the SR of Vietnam led by the chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam Nguyen Huu Tho.

Attending it were also the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Rita Marko, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Pali Miska and the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile.

Present was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania Huang Quoc Tin.

Comrade Ramiz Alia cordially greeted the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, led by Nguyen Huu Tho on behalf of the Central Committee of the party and the Presidium of the People's Assembly. He greeted the Vietnamese friends particularly on behalf of Comrade Enver Hoxha, who, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, preserves very good impressions of the first visit to Albania by Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho and cherishes a special respect for Vietnam. Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that the party, government and the Albanian people have supported and are supporting the just cause of the Vietnamese people, their efforts for the reconstruction of the country, the construction of socialism and the defense of the homeland. He expressed the feelings of friendship and respect of the Albanian people for the Vietnamese people and the conviction for the further consolidation and development of the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two peoples and countries.

The chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam Nguyen Huu Tho, after thanking for the cordial reception transmitted [words indistinct] greetings of Comrade Le Duan and the other party and state leaders of Vietnam for Comrade Enver Hoxha

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and the other leaders of our party and state. He evaluated the precious aid that the party, government and the Albanian people have given and give to the Vietnamese people and expressed the admiration for the successes that our people have achieved in all the fields of life, relying on our own forces.

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Moreover, the president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia, after the reception, gave a luncheon in honour of the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam led by the chairman of the assembly Nguyen Huu Tho.

Present at the luncheon were also the chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Adil Carcani, the members of the Political Bureau and secretaries of the Central Committee of the party, Lenka Cuko and Simon Stefani.

During the luncheon which passed in a warm atmosphere, toasts were raised to the friendship between the Albanian people and the Vietnamese people.

#### Tour of Kruje, Durres Districts

AU270907 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Tirana, 27 Mar (ATA)--In continuation of the visits to our country, the delegation of the National Assembly of the SR of Vietnam, led by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho, paid a visit to the town of Kruje on 26 March before noon.

In this visit he was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party, Pali Miska.

Yesterday, too, the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam, led by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho paid a visit to the city of Durres.

He was accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party, Pali Miska.

Present at the visits made in these districts was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania Huang Quoc Tin.

#### SRV Embassy Dinner

AU270825 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, 27 Mar (ATA)--On the occasion of the friendly visit to our country by the delegation of the National Assembly of Vietnam headed by the chairman of the assembly, Nguyen Huu Tho, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of SR of Vietnam of the PSR of Albania, Huang Quoc Tin, gave a dinner at the embassy seat.

Attending were the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Pali Miska; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the permanent commission of foreign affairs of the People's Assembly, Foto Cami; members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government, deputies, heads of central departments and various institutions of the capital.

During the dinner which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, toasts were raised to the friendship between our two countries and peoples, to the strengthening and further development of the relations.

#### Delegation Departs 28 March

AU291222 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 29 Mar 85

[Text] Tirana, 29 Mar (ATA)--The delegation of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, headed by the chairman of the National Assembly of SR of Vietnam Nguyen Huu Tho, which at the invitation of the Presidency of the People's Assembly of the PSR of Albania made a friendly visit to Albania, left our country on 28 March.

The Vietnamese friends were seen off at the airport by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Pali Miska, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi, the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, zhafer Spahiu, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and chairman of the permanent commission of foreign affairs of the People's Assembly, Foto Cami, members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government, deputies to the People's Assembly, functionaries of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other central departments. They cordially and warmly greeted Comrade Nguyen Huu Tho and the members of the delegation wishing them a good journey. "We passed very beautiful days in Albania, said among others the chairman of the National Assembly of Vietnam, Nguyen Huu Tho, before his departure. "We are moved and impressed by the warm reception extended to us everywhere. This was a successful visit."

A group of Pioneers presented the Vietnamese friends with bouquets of flowers.

Present at the airport was also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of SR of Vietnam to the PSR of Albania, Huang Quoc Tin and other functionaries of the embassy.

CSO: 2020/99

ALBANIA

# DOCTORS CRITICIZED FOR FAILURE TO GO TO DISASTER AREAS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 15 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Musa Ulqini: "Snow Devastations in Puke and the Doctors in Tirana"]

[Text] Of the 36 non-local doctors who work in Puke, half of them have not appeared at work for two weeks. 9 of the 18 doctors who have not appeared are from Tirana. The Ministry of Health learned about this situation only yesterday.

Yesterday morning, we spoke with the head of the department of health of Puke District, Ndue Cara, who acquainted us with the selfless work of all the health personnel in the city and village to confront the difficult situation created by the snow, the frost and the avalanches, and to stand by the people everywhere. "But this situation," he said, "was also made more difficult by the fact that since New Year's, 18 doctors have not appeared at work; 9 of them are from Tirana. Most of them practice in the villages, so the villages of Mertur, Dardhe, Arres-Miliska, Gojan, Kryezi, Korthpul and Kabash lack doctors. This has created a difficult and serious situation."

Until yesterday, the Ministry of Health had no information about this state of affairs. In connection with this, Katerina Tabllo, deputy minister of the Ministry of Health, told us yesterday: "We should have been informed of this situation at the beginning. We have ordered the Puke department of health to inform all these doctors immediately by telegram that the doctors from Tirana must appear at the Ministry of Health at 8:00 AM on the 15th and the doctors from other districts, at 3:00 PM on the same date."

It can be said that there are difficulties, that the roads are blocked. Certainly there are difficulties - many of them. But this does not justify the fact that Doctors Astrit Plaku, Emanuela Dungu, Roland Kore, Mereme Brahimi, Sokol Morina, Roza Kondi, Emil Kalimeri, Asime Kalimeri and Ilir Koli did not take the trouble to appear at the Ministry of Health. In the meantime, not only did no worker from the Ministry of Health go to Puke, although helicopters have been able to reach the area, but when we asked at this ministry, they did not know the names or addresses of any of the doctors whom we were to meet. The head of the Puke District department of health gave us their names. The situation that has been created and the fact that the people who live in these

zones are faced every hour with the difficulties created by the great snows, the strong winds, the low temperatures and the avalanches in their struggle to normalize the situation a little has made the presence of doctors, especially, more necessary than ever before. Asked why the doctors do not travel to Puke by helicopter, the director of the Directorate of Personnel in the Ministry, Bedri Tafani replied, saying, "We do not have any requests from Puke." A fine justification! When has Puke had more need of doctors than now? Everyone knows this simple truth, particularly the Ministry. Why, then, do these doctors not follow the example of their colleagues in the Institute of Military Medical Research who, although they were not called to Puke, found a way to go there and help in the disasters. Why this division between military and civilian doctors? All military and civilian doctors are physicians - soldiers of the people. "As soon as we read the instructions of the party Central Committee and of Comrade Enver in ZERI I POPULLIT, regarding the situation that had been created in the North," Veli Toto, director of the Institute of Military Medical Research, told us, "we decided to airlift two groups equipped with doctors and the necessary material resources."

Our doctors have proven that even in ordinary situation, they are at the forefront of the task, going so far as to risk their lives in order to come to the aid of the sick. Many examples of sacrifice and self-sacrifice are seen these days in all the districts of the North. The doctors of the Kukes hospital, Mustaf Mustafai, Azem Braka, Shaqir Shehu, Xhevahir Haxhiu and Ferit Alikaj went immediately to give first aid to avalanche accident victims in Shtiqen. On the 13th, another group of doctors, headed by the director of the Kukes hospital, Mahmut Hasa, set out for the village of Vile e Bushtrices about 35 km from Kukes, in order to come to the aid of some seriously ill patients. Similarly, on 9 January, a group of doctors from the Lezhe hospital, struggling through the blizzard, went and saved the life of a woman experiencing difficulties in childbirth in Kashnjet.

Therefore it was all the more necessary for the 18 doctors mentioned to be where they are expected not only by the victims of snow-related accidents, but also by their patients. We believe that they will be embarrassed when they go there, because they did not give these patients the least support.

We learned yesterday that the doctors of Tirana hospitals numbers 2 and 3 "were waiting for a signal" from the Ministry of Health to set out for the North. Have the days of snow, frost and avalanches not given these comrades a sufficient signal? Is the daily information in the press and on radio and television not a sufficient signal for them? This signal was sufficient for the doctors of the military hospital who set out yesterday afternoon for Puke. If the exceptional situation summoned these doctors to set out, it is all the more the duty of the 18 doctors mentioned at the beginning of this article, since, in the final analysis, they are also paid for this. We believe too that these doctors will be embarrassed when they meet their colleagues, who have borne heavy burdens these days not only to cope with the exceptional situation, but also with the absence of these 18 physicians. At the same time, we believe that the basic party organization of the Ministry of Health will not find any other "signal" necessary to participate in the situation in the required manner.

ALBANIA

LACK OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN INDUSTRY DEPLORED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Thimi Nika: "Some Problems Regarding Dissertations"]

[Text] "An unjustifiable disproportion in the defense of dissertations in various fields and sectors. The number of grassroots specialists who have defended dissertations is still limited. The average age of people defending dissertations is high. Why do only a very small number of those who obtain the grade of Candidate of Science enter the second level?"

The defense of dissertations at the first and second levels, for the academic grades of Candidate and Doctor of Science respectively, has received satisfactory development in our country, especially since the 8th plenum of the party Central Committee in June 1980. A considerable number of cadres and specialists in various fields have been promoted and a real interest has arisen in the deeper assimilation of scientific knowledge and in experimentation, in writing monographs and in publishing them. Esat Heta, an employee at the Higher Commission of Certification, attached to the Ministry of Education and Culture, has acquainted us with this fact: "We already have 471 Candidates of Science, 40 Doctors of Science and 61 professors." These figures, compared with the very low ones of previous years, demonstrate a tangible increase not only in quantity, but also in quality. In general, the dissertations that have been defended have been on a good level and have resolved difficult tasks and problems. Nevertheless, in comparison with the possibilities created by the party, a great deal still remains to be done.

In analyses and reports, there is frequent mention of a "mass character in the defense of dissertations, especially in those on the first level." This is a fact. Skender Kucuku, dean of the Department of Economics of the University of Tirana, for example, in the annual analysis report of the scientific council, wrote, among other things, "During 1984, intensive work was done to prepare the defense of dissertations. 13 dissertations were defended, 10 before the scientific council and 3 before the departments. There are also 10 other dissertations in the final stages, some of which have been delivered to the departments." But this mass character is not seen everywhere. The problem is the following: the same highly effective commitment in the defense of dissertations is not seen in all fields and sectors; there are even cases of large

and totally unjustifiable disproportions. For example, in medicine, 94 dissertations have been defended; in the field of history and folk culture, 66; in economics, 48. At the same time, there has still not been one dissertation defended by a textile specialist; there have been few dissertations in such fields as metallurgy, oil drilling, transport, construction, etc. What is the reason for this? There are various reasons: defects in planning, lack of proper job placement for cadres and specialists, poor requirements of accounting, etc. There is no other explanation for the fact that since 1981, the Ministry of Communications has not presented a single dissertation to the Higher Commission of Certification, while the Ministry of Construction has presented only one. It is a mistake to think that the resolution of this problem is only the responsibility of the Committee of Science and Technology, regardless of the fact that it has its own role and tasks which require better and more serious pursuit as well. While the ministries must not tie any hands and must permit spontaneity in the defense of dissertations in the fields which they cover, there is also the fact, which must be seen from this viewpoint, that a small number of those who take the degree of Candidate of Science enter the second level. There are only two Doctors of Science in medicine - 47 times less than the number of Candidates of Science. One of the sources of this unjustifiable disproportion lies in the idea: "I have defended the first level and have been approved for the degree of Candidate of Science; why should I continue so much further when no one requires such a thing of me?" Some people mistakenly think that they have achieved something with the first level, that they have become scientists. No, there is no end to the depth of science. Naturally, this does not imply that all those who have become Candidates of Science will become Doctors of Science. But those who have all the capabilities and possibilities have no reason to remain in the middle of the road. This is not accomplished by order, but by stimulating people, by assigning them work, by creating that warm atmosphere of interest and encouragement needed to overcome difficulties which is required for scientific research activity. Precisely because work has been carried out in this way, good experience in this direction has already occurred at the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies. Last year alone, 4 dissertations for the degree of Doctor of Science were defended in this institute.

Another harmful phenomenon is observed: the number of dissertations defended by grass-roots specialists, in production and services, in comparison with those of college teachers and scientific workers in research and design institutions is very much smaller. In concrete terms: in the drilling sector, 3 dissertations in all have been defended, but none of those defending the dissertations were from the production area; in mathematics, 32 dissertations have been defended, only 1 from the production sphere; in metallurgy, these figures are 4 and zero; in veterinary science, 35 and 6; in chemistry, 42 and 3; and so forth. In seeking the reasons for this phenomenon, for which measures must be taken in order to regulate the situation and cause it to progress, one learns that in the first place, scientific workers in research and design institutions and even college teachers have been favored, in comparison with specialists in production. We think that it is appropriate that this situation should be viewed with the aim of creating improved conditions for

the latter, without harming production, and especially of increasing the amount of time allotted to them for the preparation of dissertation topics. Above all, it is necessary for the comrades of the grassroots themselves to evaluate this problem correctly, to demonstrate perseverance and tenacity, because this work is in the service of the science of production. But the party organizations also must ensure that the collective of cadres under their direction should be an active scientific organism, that scientific work is transformed into a functional task and into an important norm and criterion for the appraisal and activity of every cadre.

The increase in effectiveness of work for the defense of dissertations is very much conditioned by the age of those defending them. Glancing at the data for the period 1981-1984, it may be seen that the average age has remained almost unchanged. In 1981 it was 43.3, while in 1984 it was 43.2. As is apparent, this is somewhat high. Those under 30 defending dissertations are "rare visitors" at the Higher Commission of Certification. The age group 40-50 dominates, but 60 year old people are not lacking, nor are those of even more advanced age. We would not say that "age limits" should be set, but one fact is certain: the average age of those defending dissertations, especially for the level of Candidate of Science, is high and the appropriate organs must struggle to find ways of lowering it. In order to accomplish this, it is necessary, above all, to combat forcefully the conception that "a young scientific worker, teacher or cadre has time to defend the dissertation." Experience itself indicates by means of many examples that the young have successfully defended dissertations on both levels.

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CSO: 2100/28

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STATE COUNCIL DIRECTIVE ON CITIZENS' PETITIONS

Report on Meeting

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 85 p 1

[Article datelined Berlin (ADN): "Cooperation of Party, State and People--a Guarantee of Our Successes"]

[Text] On 18 March 1985 the GDR State Council convened under the chairmanship of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council. It dealt with reports on the major substance of citizens' petitions submitted to the State Council, the Supreme Court and the general prosecutor's office in 1984. The reports were given by Heinz Eichler, State Council secretary, Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, Supreme Court president, and Dr Josef Streit, general prosecutor of the GDR.

After thorough deliberations the reports were adopted and it was suggested to use the experiences and conclusions contained in them in future work.

The State Council furthermore considered a report from the Stralsund city deputy assembly on experiences on controlling labor through the citizens' petitions and their analysis for preparing decisions and the activity of deputies in the election districts. In that report, commented on by the chief mayor of the city, Horst Lehmann, tried and tested working methods and results of relevant civic work by the people's representations and their deputies were conveyed. It also corroborates that conscientiously dealing with the suggestions, recommendations, concerns and complaints of the working people is fundamental to socialist communal policy.

In the discussion, Erich Honecker called the work with petitions a political task of the first rank for all official organs. A confident partnership of the party, the state and the people had been and remained a decisive guarantee for the republic's successful development. For the further deepening of socialist democracy it should be of great importance for the official organs to react to the citizens' concerns with utmost responsibility and care and with human understanding. Dedication, initiative and solidarity with the socialist homeland grew once the working people consider their concerns well and fairly represented.

An important contribution all people's representations and deputies should have to make in getting set for the 11th SED Congress, the State Council chairman emphasized, was more still to make prevail everywhere the constitutionally vested principle of partnership in planning, work and government.

The State Council approved the report from the Stralsund city deputy assembly and thanked the deputies for their public efforts. It confirmed recommendations on the local people's representations' work with citizens' petitions and decided to submit them, together with excerpts from the report, to all local people's representations for their information and for making use of them in the further development of their efforts.

In his conclusion the State Council secretary reported on the petitions for reprieve received by the State Council in 1984 and their disposition.

#### Text of Directive

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Mar 85 p 1

["'Recommendations' of the GDR Council of State Regarding Local Representative Groups' Work With Citizens' Petitions"]

[Text] In preparing for the 11th SED Congress by doing everything possible to strengthen socialism, and peace as well, we must also make still more perceptible in every city-hall and enterprise that the citizens' suggestions are wanted and their concerns are taken seriously and disposed of with fairness in conformity with the laws of the workers and farmers state. An important contribution by the local people's representations to the consolidation of socialist democracy and the political and legal order of the GDR must be for them to see to it more effectively still that one sensitively and rapidly everywhere reacts to what the citizens are concerned with, carefully and conscientiously checks and responds to their petitions and carries out suitable experiences without delay.

To perfect the work with petitions further, the local people's representations should pay special attention to the following:

1. The conscientious handling of the citizens' recommendations, suggestions, concerns and complaints is part and parcel of socialist communal policy.

Everywhere we must talk frankly and comradely with the citizens about their petitions, counsel them on the problems, jointly seek the best solutions and, wherever possible and necessary, bring about changes. A correct and expert handling of each petition in line with legal regulations and social possibilities, including those voiced in residential area meetings, family conversations and other occasions, strengthens the citizens' trust in their state organs and encourages their performance readiness toward taking part in the efforts, plans and governing of state and society. A confident atmosphere like that also includes frankly stating that some concern can for the time being not yet be disposed of and turning down unjustified demands with business-like explanations. A confident talk on the spot often leads to a clarification most easily.

In this sense also the people's debate in preparation for the 11th party congress is a public exchange of experiences promoting everything that triggers creative initiatives, releases reserves, helps straightening out what needs improvement, and advances the proven course of the main task.

All local people's representations are called upon to make their contribution to it.

2. The recommendations, suggestions, concerns and complaints of the citizens are an important basis for the decisions made by the local people's representations and the supervision of the implementation of resolutions.

Especially for planning decisions and resolutions on long-term developmental conceptions, the working people's recommendations must be included and their suggestions and opinions must be taken into account. This mainly also means that we should, through thoroughly analysing those petitions, tap further reserves for the plan implementation and for improving the working and living conditions and promote in every way the activities in the citizens' initiative, "More beautiful towns and communities-Join-in!"

To that end, the local people's representations should pay still more attention to a concrete analysis of petitions in the territory and the election districts, their target-directed analysis, and to regular conferences in the standing commissions, election district activists groups and other meetings among deputies. Also in debating draft resolutions and in supervising the implementation of the plan and other resolutions, above and beyond the councils' regular reporting on petitions, a public position should be taken more directly and the necessary arrangements should be made on the citizens' concerns in the sessions of the people's representations.

3. Effectively and constantly supervising the disposition of citizens' petitions by state organs in conformity with socialist legality is a constitutional mission incumbent on each people's representation.

The local people's representations can do a great deal in reinforcing the citizens' trust in the socialist political and legal order that is given expression in their petitions and in making use for the common good of the declaration of readiness, frequently added to petitions, to help solve problems and eliminate shortcomings. That includes making still more use of proven experiences in the control over petition work, such as regularly dealing with petition problems in the councils' activity reports at the meetings, status reports by executive officials before the people's representations and in standing commissions, and including the petition control in operational investigations and consultations by the commissions and deputies. What has been found useful in many places is to take account of territorial petition priorities even while measures are drawn up for any long-range preparation of people's representation sessions and in the commissions' work planning. It also accords with the responsibility of a people's representative to convince himself of the proper checking into and clarification of petitions brought to him and, if necessary, to get actively involved in that himself.

Among the obligations of local people's representations also is to take steps, resolutely and without respect to persons, against any bureaucratic or unfeeling conduct by particular heads or associates in official organs, against frivolous and unredeemed promises, and against dodging responsibilities. All people's representations are asked to enforce still more consistently the relevant legal provisions in their area of responsibility, analyze their infringements and prevent any repetition.

4. Discussing and responding to questions and concerns of the citizens is a regular component of the deputies' relevant and persuasive political mass activity.

Many experiences confirm that petitions are often most effectively and rapidly dealt with through personal talks with the citizens. Confident conversations are often most suitable for persuasively explaining political and economic contexts--such as the implementation of the housing construction program, modernization and rehabilitation, urban planning, environmental beautification, or ensuring order and safety--and for recruiting the working people into an active participation for solving these and other communal policy tasks. So we must make still better use of the deputies' various forms of political mass activity in the election districts of towns, communities and boroughs like residents forums, housing communities, family get-togethers and other meetings of the commissions of the National Front and social organizations and institutions to inform the citizens, in a business-like manner, about problems and their clarifications as suggested through petitions. Altogether, information on communal policy projects can help greatly in recruiting the citizens into a participation.

It is also welcome that deputies within the scope of the legally scheduled regular status reports before their constituencies explain how through the implementation of resolutions taken by the people's representations problems presented in petitions are being resolved and causes for complaints, eliminated, step by step. Work which is thus relevant to the citizens' concerns presupposes that the deputies are informed in detail and constantly about the petition priorities in their territory and election district as well as about the official ways of coping with them.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHURCH, STATE RELATIONS WARILY EXPANDED

FRG Commentator Assesses Status

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 2 Mar 85 p 21

[Article by Wolf-Dieter Zimmermann: "The Peace Treaty With Erich Honecker--The Evangelical Churches in the GDR Have Fully Acknowledged The Second German State, And Are Coming To Terms With It"]

[Text] "A Church in Socialism"--that is the formula by which the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR defined its place in socialist society in 1971. For its background this formula has the realization that the church fulfils its mission only if it is a "church for others." For that reason one added to this interpretation at the time that the church was to become the testimonial and service community for all in society.

When that requirement was set down, the church was not yet acknowledged as an entity in its own standing, it had no social place value as yet, and there still prevailed the Marxist thesis of the gradual extinction of religion. That has slowly changed. The new relations between state and church were given a visible expression on 6 March 1978, when the Church Federation came to some sort of agreement with the state leadership, which the venerable Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr recently characterized as follows: "Equality and equal regard for all citizens, the church--within the scope of its mission--participates in shaping the future in socialist society, and an advocacy of the preservation of peace, of detente and international understanding." He added in the article he wrote for WIENER ZEITUNG that an important prerequisite for the church side "for this new level in togetherness had been that one had come to terms with the existence of a second German state."

In the wake of these new relations many things became easier for the church, even in the border areas of Christian existence (such as the ministerial work in prisons and asylums and the sponsoring of public events). Bishops and church representatives find it easier to travel--even to the West. At the same time, however, the "integration" in public life also appears to have increased. The deputy chairman of the Church Federation, Church Council President Manfred Stolpe, late in August 1984 attended the Peace Council Conference (the executive organ of the official Peace Movement), spoke there and on 3 September, together with a Peace Council delegation, submitted a resolution to State

Council Chairman Honecker. In it he had explained the independent peace efforts of the church, according to official church circles.

#### Protestants Still Merely a Bare 40 Percent

The general climate between state and church seems utterly relaxed, even if one has to take into account that only a bare 40 percent of the population of 17 million is left in the Evangelical Church. In East Berlin that percentage is even below 10 percent. In describing the relations between state and church new terms are being used: mutual respect, alliance, reconciliation, toleration.

The churches accepted this offer of cooperation but to some extent accommodated themselves to the GDR's political standpoint. At the last Evangelical Church synod in Travemuende, Manfred Stolpe said: "Churches and Christians can help develop a peace-securing and more humanistic modus vivendi between the two sovereign neighboring German states that are faithful to their alliances and yet linked through a special responsibility." It looks as if once again churchmen, as once in the Eastern Memorandum in 1965, have taken the role of outriders for a more realistic assessment of the situation in the all-German region.

The generational change also is likely to play a role here because the top church officials of today hardly have been around before 1961, the time before the Evangelical Church in Germany was split. Their primary reality is the time that followed then. Furthermore, the old ecclesiastic tie to the West is increasingly being replaced by a mistrust of western intentions.

In view of the givens, the church, according to a Church Federation report, may say: "There is a place in the community of people in a society for efforts about a coalition of reason, for processes that build confidence, for an endeavor to place what unites them above that which divides them. Peace virtues must here also be formed and become effective, such as tolerance and the ability to endure conflict and understand one another. And a special domestic policy virtue is added to it: the courage of one's own conviction."

The "politics of dialogue" rates as the basis for the relations today. It is possible to speak of "a basic trust between state and church." "We mean by that that state and church want to work for preserving and deepening the grown confidence despite many difficulties and find a peace-promoting meaning in it." Church Federation Chairman Bishop Johann Hempel observes that the state has recognized the churches and Christians are no enemies of socialism and the independence of the church also makes sense to the state. So one may expect that the socialist state will not squeeze the church and the Christians out of the society.

And still there are areas of conflict that have long been worrisome: Discrimination against Christian pupils and parents in the educational system, the paramilitary training for pupils and apprentices, and the rejection of the deployment of missiles in West and East.

## The SED State Is Frequently Ambiguous

It looks, to be sure, as if the party, wielding the power in the state, has not fully adapted itself to the detente tendencies. The SED Central Committee passed a resolution on ideological education early last year. It maintains as its goal the formation of communist personalities. More influence is to be exercised on the selection of civics teachers "so they will ever more effectively assume their responsibility as propagandists of Marxism-Leninism and party policy." Defense readiness is supposed to be developed among all pupils.

They issued a new decree on fighting irregularities. It makes subject to punishment anyone who "uses objects, symbols or other signs in conflict with state or social interests." Resigning church membership continues to be the prerequisite for becoming a policeman and, to some extent also, a teacher.

Those may be particulars, yet they suggest the state is ambiguous. However much it tried, the Church Federation has not yet managed a talk with representatives of the educational system on what is actually meant by forming communist personalities, as one could learn from the most recent meeting between Honecker and Hempel. At an ecumenical conference in Geneva, Bishop Hempel said one should learn from the Marxists and arrive at a joint concept of "reconciliation," a concept which, however, seems to have little reality in the educational system.

May one play out such problem areas against the general tendency toward reaching understanding? Can the ecclesiastic accommodation to the political positions of its own state gradually induce the state officials to show more trust in the church and thus keep "anti-Christian tendencies" out of the schools? Is an accommodation to "external peace," i.e. to foreign policy goals, also a genuine step toward "internal peace," that is social understanding, and thus to the equality and equal respect for Christians, as promised in 1978?

Anyone who knows the GDR also knows that the most recent events at the top echelon of the church do not necessarily reflect the reality of the church folk. Especially the committed Christian youths want more and often feel insufficiently supported by church executives. This might also suggest some sort of ambiguity, the point being that the shared responsibility the church has assumed for the people in GDR society has to stand up, particularly, in view of ordinary practical life as the Christians are experiencing it in personal terms.

## Church Pension Funding Approved

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Mar 85 p 2

[Article datelined Berlin (ADN): "Agreement on Pensions For Deaconesses Signed"]

[Text] A pension agreement was signed for the deaconesses in Evangelical homes for mothers and diaconates in the GDR on 1 March in Berlin between the labor and wages state secretariat and the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

The signing ceremony was attended by Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, minister for health, Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, Wolfgang Beyreuther, state secretary for labor and wages, and Rudolf Neumerkel, deputy chief manager of State Insurance. The church side was represented by Bishop Dr Johannes Hempel, chairman of the conference of the Evangelical Church executive boards in the GDR, the High Consistory member Martin Ziegler, head of the secretariat of the Evangelical Church Federation in the GDR, the High Consistory member Dr Ernst Petzold director of the diaconates of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR, and some other representatives of the state and the Evangelical churches.

Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs, made the point that this agreement was one measure among many carried out since the meeting between Erich Honecker, State Council chairman of the GDR, and the board of the conference of Evangelical church executives in the GDR, on 6 March 1978. That was only possible because of the increasingly more confident and constructive relationship between the state and the churches. He pointed to the most recent meeting between Erich Honecker and Bishop Dr Hempel, at which the State Council chairman corroborated the principles of the 6 March 1978 meeting and paid high tribute to the efforts of the Christian fellow-citizens in the construction of socialist society. The State Council chairman also pointed to the state's appreciation for the devoted service by the deaconesses in church public health, especially in taking care of the sick, the old and the disabled.

Bishop Hempel rated the agreement as a generous act by the state. Relations between the state and Evangelical churches in the GDR, he said, were marked by intensive efforts about continuity, as had once again been reiterated at the meeting with State Council Chairman Erich Honecker on 11 February 1985. He called the pension agreement the state's special expression of tribute to the diaconates.

Matron Anneliese Dietrich, deputy chairperson of the conference of the Kaiserswerther type of homes for mothers, and matron in the Dresden diaconate, gave thanks for the agreement on behalf of all deaconesses and said: "We are very happy about it. We find in it a recognition and appreciation for our efforts through decades in the public health and social welfare system of our state." She assured us she would in the future also be available with all her strength to the sick and incapacitated as the Christian faith demanded it.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

YOUNG AUTHORS, BOOK FAIR ANOMALIES VIEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 14 Mar 85 p 25

[Article by Uwe Wittstock: "About Blank Display Copies and Literary Readings in the Garret: Observations on the 1985 Leipzig Book Fair--Why Some Books Appear in the GDR And Others Don't"]

[Text] Not an easy matter: Coming away from the Leipzig Book Fair, it is impossible to report just about the new literature presented there. Stories might be told about almost every title, which offer an almost impenetrable tangle of literary and political considerations. Sensational rumors constantly circulate about the current status of the struggle between SED loyal and critical writers, and are soon superseded by more speculations. Each official event of the strictly supervised and usually utterly boring literary operation is matched by one of those unofficial and privately organized meetings which, with a bit of luck, offer a much more intense debate of poetic and artistic issues than at many a Western university.

The appointment had been made the day before, by telephone from West Germany, but we cautiously omitted to talk about our common goal. The brief welcome was followed by a long streetcar journey through dark streets to a remote quarter of Leipzig. The stories my companion told me of his clashes with the state authorities fitted in well with the crumbling facades, gray with lignite dust, that flitted past the streetcar windows. Arrived at the streetcar terminus, lit by a dirty lantern, we walk along a narrow side street to barracks-like apartment building which seems to date back to the founder period. We mounted a dilapidated staircase to get to a roomy attic apartment where, one by one, almost 40 youngish guests assembled.

The guests came for two reasons: a few days before and for the first time, paintings by a Leipzig painter had been exhibited, who had obviously modeled himself on the new wild men. Such works are never shown in the state promoted and managed galleries of the GDR. Yet there is a lot of interest: I was told that normally several hundred visitors attend such private presentations. For the other, that same evening a young writer was to read from his manuscripts. Though not much of his work has been published in the GDR, several of his books were issued in the GDR. Our host explained that he had invited only his intimates, so as to avoid overcrowding.

Disregarding the poor furnishings, it would be quite easy to mistake this meeting for one of the parties usual in West Germany. In the background American rock music, the guests are dressed informally to negligently, and the invited author even brought a bottle of whisky--he makes no attempt to hide his excellent contacts with the Federal Republic. However, the topics of conversation are eye openers: Almost everyone present talks of his artistic, peace or church connected activities which reveal an openly critical and more or less dissident attitude toward real existing socialism.

Shyness or fear are evidently quite foreign to this bohemian GDR crowd. Their conversations lack any perceptible inhibitions, the entrance door to the apartment remains unlocked even during the reading. Everyone is quite aware that the authorities do not approve of such meetings, but--says the host--"if I were to consider everything that they might disapprove of, I would never do anything. Should they shut me down, I'll simply have to think of something else."

Nobody appears to be intimidated. They all have known one another for years, respect and help each other. After the reading, the author is admonished about the weaknesses of his text in long and sometimes vehement discussions, just as if this small debating circle wished to replace those corrective agencies and editorial assistance otherwise offered by public literary criticism.

Still, it is quite noticeable that this is a temporary community: Repeatedly mentioned are the names of friends who, voluntarily or otherwise, submitted "the application" and are now living in the FRG. None of them is particularly eager for this, but for some the pressure is a heavy burden: Detlef Opitz is a good example. His texts are either not printed at all in the GDR or only with great difficulty. Several years ago, his identity card was withdrawn. This means that any policeman may detain him temporarily. A Cuban living in the GDR had wanted to marry him. She was warned that she would have to expect expulsion in that case. A criminal case is now being brought against him to compel him to move to a distant village.

Officially fates such as this are never mentioned. Nothing but successes were reported at the press conference of the Stock Exchange Association of GDR publishers. The trade in books and periodicals was said to have risen by 10-14 percent. Yet--and this is another of the disturbing observations we made in Leipzig--no triumphal trumpets were sounded. Instead, an obvious attempt was made quite early at this event to produce the atmosphere of a well polished routine. Juergen Gruner, director of the Leipzig Stock Exchange Association, gave the opening address, linking one cliché and meaningless phrase to another. It was almost impossible not to gain the impression that not even he himself was interested in his speech, let alone that he had any expectations of interesting his listeners.

In fact, Gruner was in an impossible situation: He knew exactly that those of his audience who came from the East were perfectly well aware of what he was going to say, and they were going to have to report, while the visitor from the West did not believe a single one of his words. No genuine information is

to be had on such occasions. When, for example, a reporter asked why the long heralded novel "Neue Herrlichkeit" [New Splendor] by GDR writer Guenter de Bruyn was not yet available in the GDR, Eberhard Guenther, the respective publisher, sent him an unmistakable signal that this was no concern of his: The book would appear in August, and he could not provide any information about the internal reasons for the more than 12 months delay.

In a one-on-one conversation, Guenther was somewhat more open. He told me that de Bruyn's book had had to be cut from last year's publication program because it had been misused for propaganda against the GDR by West German newspaper reviewers--just at the time when the international situation had dangerously deteriorated due to the stationing of American missiles in Europe. By now the political situation between the superpowers had somewhat eased, and also some time had elapsed since the "review campaign," so that the novel could now be issued.

Talking to Guenther, it is hard to see the doctrinaire censor in this thoughtful man who is careful about the phrases he employs and sometimes has recourse to lively gesticulation. He complains of the "undifferentiated reports" in the FRG press, tries to describe how hard it had been to arrive at a decision about de Bruyn's novel and the "painful feelings" involved in it--although of course this does not change the end result one whit. Once again a book written for them has been withheld from GDR residents. The indication of the political reasons for this tutelage is positively grotesque.

Actually, the stands of the important fiction publishers show some books which would interest West German readers, too: Mythological tales and a volume of "Dreizehn Traeume" [Thirteen Dreams] by Franz Fuehmann are to be published, Christoph Heins' novel "Horns Ende" [The End of Horn], announced last year, is now to be distributed, Volker Braun's "Hinze-Kunze-Roman" [The Tom, Dick and Harry Novel] was presented, two volumes of essays on Latin American and Romance language literature generally by Fritz Rudolf Fries, Christa and Gerhard Wolf are to be issued.

However, no details of these books can be reported: Whoever picked them up at the stands was condemned to disappointment. The proudly displayed covers bore the titles of the books, but the inside pages were blank. Almost all new publications of GDR publishers are presented merely as so-called blind volumes. They are displayed in public, but nobody may read them. My expectations were aroused when leafing through a copy of the new book by Christa and Gerhard Wolf, which--surprisingly--contained some printed texts. Unfortunately, this also was only one of the many illusions to which one is subjected in Leipzig: The texts were by another, third rate writer. The publishers had simply stuck the wrong title leaf on his book.

Westerners are likely to fall victim to a similar deception when they are told that almost 250 FRG publishers are represented at the Leipzig Fair. Looking for the names of these firms is an exercise in futility. No less than 229 share a common stand. Admittedly, 2,000 books are exhibited at this stand, but this is far from providing a representative image of our country's book output. Many of the publishers shy away from greater participation in the

Leipzig Fair, because they do not really expect it to yield much in the way of financial profits.

It is quite hard to accept this reasoning once you see the greed for information of GDR visitors who crowd around each book from a Western publisher. Many have traveled more than 100 kilometers to be able to spend a few minutes leafing through textbooks or novels that they never see at any other time.

Moreover, various publishers such as C. Bertelsmann or Athenaeum tell us that their costs are "definitely manageable," and we are therefore bound to ask ourselves why such important publishers as Suhrkamp, Luchterhand and S. Fischer--who have already acquired a lot of merit with regard to GDR literature--seem to be satisfied with a small corner of a common stand. These same publishers like to assert that a publishing house is a "purveyor of culture," not just a commercial enterprise. The young man who organized the private reading in Leipzig would never claim such a title, but he deserves it.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED PUBLISHING OFFICIAL ON BOOK FAIR

East Berlin SONNTAG in German Vol 39 No 10, 10 Mar 85 p 4

[Interview with Klaus Hoepcke, deputy minister of culture, interviewer, date and place not specified: "About Great Changes--Offerings of GDR Publishers on the Fortieth Anniversary of Liberation"]

[Text] [Question] The Leipzig International Book Fair offers GDR publishers the first opportunity to offer the general public a look at their contribution on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of our people as well as important projects from the 1985 program. What may we expect?

[Answer] This year a total of around 1,000 domestic and foreign exhibitors from 20 countries and West Berlin will show their wares at the book fair in the fair building. The New Nicaragua publishing house will be represented at the fair for the first time.

The GDR fair exhibits demonstrate the effort of the publishers to make available by their books, including some joint publications, the historic lessons which are indispensable for the peace struggle of our age, the struggle against overarmament and the threat of war. The books displayed bear witness to the fact that scientific and technical literature as well as fiction, art and music books are all devoted to the 40th anniversary.

[Question] Some 50 books among those issued by the fiction publishers deal with the topics involved in the 40th anniversary. What is their main concern?

[Answer] The authors are trying to help further impress the awareness of history, shape socialist attitudes and activate humanist values in the struggle against the nuclear threat to the earth. Many writers are succeeding in conveying historic experiences of human history from their personal knowledge. They are making a perceptible effort to contribute to the more profound understanding of the GDR's historic role, its revolutionary achievements as well as party and government policy, directed to the welfare of the people.

In this interview I can mention only a few titles from the many offered. In his novel "Zeit der Zauberin" [The Time of the Sorceress] (Mitteldeutscher

Verlag), Karl Mundstock presents the second part of his memoirs. The action follows directly on that of his "Meine Tausend Jahre Jugend" [My Thousand Year Youth] and deals with Mundstock's life in World War II. He focuses on the operations of communists around the "Red Chapel" resistance group and the author's experiences as a recruit and soldier in the fascist German army. "Der Traum von Ps'chu" [The Dream of Ps'chu] (Aufbau Verlag) offers a comprehensive selection of the letters exchanged between Alfred Kurella and his wife, Elfriede Cohn-Vossen, who had been evacuated in conditions of much hardship. It provides us with information about the life of the emigres, wartime daily life in the Soviet capital and the hinterland, the dramatic course of the war and the situation of the evacuees. In World War II, Kurella worked at the main political administration of the Red Army. Ludwig Renn's panoramic novel "Vor Grossen Wandlungen" [Confronting Great Change], (Aufbau Verlag) was written in exile, in 1936, and published that same year in Zurich. He describes developments in Germany from December 1932 to 1935, terror and growing antifascist resistance. The book has been out of print since 1936. Anna Seghers' novella, "Die Toten auf der Insel Djal" [The Dead on Djal Island], (Aufbau Verlag) had been published in late 1924 by the FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG, when she used the assumed name Antje Seghers. It is now being issued in book form for the first time, with the addition of her "Sagen von Unirdischen" [Legends of Extraterrestrials]. Erik Neutsch offers the third volume of his major set of novels "Der Friede im Osten" [Peace in the East]. It bears the title "Wenn Feuer Verloeschen" [When Fires Die Out] (Mitteldeutscher Verlag). The author describes the lives and decisions of his heroes in connection with important historic events of GDR history. He tells of the manner in which people struggled and proved themselves in the 1960's in the construction of the new society. Erik Neutsch shows the problems and conflicts arising from the conversion of a recently finished pit furnace for the workers operating it. The reader encounters figures familiar from the preceding volumes: Achim Steinhauer, Erich Hoellsfahrt and Frank Lutter. The author describes their attitudes which have a great deal of meaning for contemporary life also. Margarete Neumann's novel "Magda Adomeit" (Aufbau Verlag) follows on her earlier book "Gruener Salon" [The Green Room]. In this new book, the author explores the fate of people who need to cope with changes in rural life in a new and important phase while trying at the same time to find themselves. Such books as well as novels and stories by Stephan Hermlin, Horst Bastian, Guenther Ruecker, Benito Wogatzki and others--all reflecting the efforts and successes involved in the evolution and development of socialism in the GDR--are of great importance in this 40th year after our liberation from fascism.

Several publishers are issuing anthologies in honor of the anniversary of our liberation. The anthologies "Der Soldatenjunge" [The Boy Soldier] (Neues Leben) and "Ich Weiss es Noch wie Heute" [I Remember It as if It Had Happened Today] (Verlag der Nation) represent collections of stories about the war by Soviet authors, including Aitmatov, Bykou, Bogomolov, Bondarev, Tendryakov, Vassiliev, Likhanov and Kireev. Stories by 25 renowned German speaking writers, reporting the fates of people 1933-1945 are featured in the collection "Mitten im Kalten Winter" [Right in the Cold Winter] (Neues Lebel). An anthology issued by Rudolf Chowanetz with the title "Vor Verdun Verlor Ich Gott" [I Lost God at Verdun] will be available shortly in the bookstores.

[Question] Which novels by Soviet authors merit special attention?

[Answer] Among the publications to hand are Konstantin Simonov's "Twenty Days Without War," reissued in the bb series of the Aufbau Verlag, Ole Honchar's "Dawn" (Aufbau Verlag) and the first volume of Aleksandr Chakovsky's latest novel "Unfinished Portrait" (Volk und Welt). The "Pocket Edition of World Literature" will issue the first complete German edition of Konstantin Fedin's novel "The Flame" which is among the outstanding works of Soviet literature. Vera Figner publishes her memoirs with the title "Night Over Russia" (Volk und Welt). These are important books demonstrating that Soviet literature ranks at the top of our publishers' programs. At the center is the struggle for revolutionary change and peace. The books convey to us lessons of history, the life and fighting experiences of eminent personalities and plain people, which are significant for our age.

[Question] What books would you single out from the sphere of sociological and technical publications?

[Answer] The programs of these publishers involve some 30 projects, including picture-text volumes, monographs, popular science books, documentations and memoirs. Seven titles deal with World War II. Their contents are the causes, nature, course, results, consequences and lessons of this devastating event that brought death and misery to millions of people all over the world. They pay tribute to the outstanding services of the Soviet Army and the Soviet people to the destruction of fascism, achieved by enormous sacrifices. The historic role of the CPSU for the salvation of mankind, the immense influence of the Soviet people's victory over fascism on the entire course of international developments are graphically described. These books illustrate the lessons provided by the Great Patriotic War for the ongoing struggle to secure peace and strengthen socialism.

To be emphasized is the issue of the twelfth and last volume of the Soviet collection "History of World War II 1939-1945," by which the Militaerverlag is concluding an unprecedented editorial project, the publication of the last volume of the six-volume collective work "Deutschland im Zweiten Weltkrieg" [Germany in World War II] (Akademie Verlag) and the multilateral popular science coproduction, the one-volume history "Der Zweite Weltkrieg 1939-1945" [World War II 1939-1945] (Dietz Verlag), which is being issued simultaneously in the various socialist countries involved.

Another seven books focus on the KPD's struggle against fascism and war, the antifascist resistance movement generally. Special attention is due the work by a collective of authors, "Die KPD im Kampf Gegen Faschismus und Krieg" [The KPD in the Struggle Against Fascism and War] (Dietz Verlag) and the international coproduction "Nicht um Meter und Sekunden" [Neither Meters nor Seconds Matter], a book about sportsmen and women who accomplished great deeds in the antifascist and anti-imperialist resistance struggle (Sportverlag). Reissues of the memoirs of Soviet army leaders, the series of educationally most effective memoirs will be made available to our readers again. Up to now, 70 titles in the series have been published.

I would also like to mention the representative picture-text volume "Mit der Sowjetunion fuer Immer Fest Verbunden" [For Ever Closely Allied with the Soviet Union] (Dietz Verlag) and the "Konrad-Wolf-Bildbiografie" [Konrad Wolf Pictorial Biography] (Henschelverlag), to be issued on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of this great artist and culture politician.

[Question] What reissues are we to expect?

[Answer] The publishers' programs for reissues include representative works of GDR literature as well as of proletarian-revolutionary writings. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism, the publishers thus supplement their offerings by books celebrating the liberation of the German people from fascism, the struggles of the peoples of the Soviet Union and German antifascists, the changes people underwent in the construction of a new society. They include, among others, Bruno Apitz' "Nackt unter Woelfen" [Naked Among Wolves], (50th printing!), Willi Bredel's "Ein Neues Kapitel" [A New Chapter], books by Becher, Brecht, Seghers, Claudius, Weinert, Weiskopf, Friedrich Wolf, Renn, Zweig, Otto Gotsche, Kant, Neutsch, Noll, Goerlich, Werner and Fuehmann.

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CSO: 2300/333

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

PRIVATE BUSINESS CREDITS GRANTED--The East Berlin State Bank has issued new regulations effective 1 May 1985 for granting credit to private craftsmen and tradespeople. They provide that private craftsmen and tradesmen who wish to start a business can be granted capital credits for purchasing, equipping, modernizing and rationalizing business facilities "in the interest of providing the populace with sources for service, repair and supply, and of promoting the production of consumer goods and rationalization equipment for export." The same provisions apply to existing businesses if they use the resources for modernization and rationalization measures to increase productivity. The interest rate for credit is 5 percent per year, and it can be lowered on occasion to promote providing certain consumer services. The repayment schedule for capital credits runs up to 8 years. To the extent of credit repayment, special deductions from taxable profits are permitted. In the future similar regulations will apply to credits for financing short term funds. To cover occasional payment difficulties, special credits can be approved, for which interest up to 8 percent is demanded. In keeping with the policy of promoting private trades, especially in the service sector, which the SED adopted in 1976, credits for founding businesses had previously been granted with relative generosity. Up to now, however, integrated centralized regulation in this area had been lacking (GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK No 7, Part I, 15 Mar 85). [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 47, 26 Mar 85 p 2]

CSO: 2300/366

HUNGARY

## GROUP INTERESTS, STATE INTERVENTION

Budapest MOZGO VILAG in Hungarian No 11, 1984 pp 81-89

[Article by Antal Seres; analysis of a sociological study]

[Text] The economic role of cooperatives becomes greater and greater in our country. The cooperative sector still had only a 3 percent share in the national income in 1950, 17 percent in 1960, but as much as 24 percent at present. They employ more than 1 million persons and call into play material resources worth roughly 330 billion forints.

If the conversation turns to cooperatives, most people think of the agricultural producer cooperatives, and deservedly so, because they produce four-fifths of agricultural output. Alongside them, however, inequitably little attention is paid--in intellectual circles at least--to the activity of commercial cooperatives (general consumer and marketing cooperatives) and savings cooperatives. Yet the commercial cooperatives' share in retail trade is nearly 40 percent, and in two-thirds of the 3,100 domestic settlements the cooperatives alone provide the population with merchandise. In the last decade and a half, cooperative trade has broken away from its traditional sphere of activity, the village, into the cities where today as many as 93 cooperative department stores operate. The savings cooperatives handle 13 percent of the population's financial savings and, in addition to their basic function (managing deposits and granting credit), they offer 20 to 25 kinds of services to the inhabitants of the villages.

The cooperatives are not only economic but also social organizations. Their social importance is shown by the fact that 2.5 million citizens have various links to the different cooperatives; almost half the adult population is a member of one, perhaps several cooperatives. The social role is particularly noticeable in the villages, where the cooperatives' activity significantly influences the inhabitants' general state of health and frame of mind, the development of living conditions, social concern for people, cultural and sporting life, and the evolution of the settlement. In numerous small settlements and camps, the cooperative programs almost exclusively create a forum for the expression of the membership's and population's opinions and for the discussion of their mutual concerns.

In recent decades, however, the composition of the membership has changed appreciably in some cooperative sectors. For example, today the majority of the members of consumer cooperatives--marketing, savings and housing cooperatives--are laborers and employees. Thus, for all practical purposes, the greater part of our society is associated with the cooperative movement.

In short, important social and economic interests are linked to further development of the cooperatives. A very essential task in the complex expansion of the macro-economic management system is therefore the improvement of the conditions necessary for growth of the cooperatives and modernization of the relationship between the state and the cooperative movement. Yet the ideas related to reform apply chiefly to the state enterprises and state organizations. There is thus a real danger that cooperatives will be treated in the same way as the state enterprises.

Assertion of the special features of cooperatives was and is today hampered in important elements. This is shown by a comprehensive sociological study conducted in the sphere of consumer cooperatives and including all the chairmen of marketing and savings cooperatives.

During the fact-finding investigation, two open questions referred to the relationship between the state and the cooperatives. One is to the economic regulatory system, or rather its impact.

Table 1. Cooperatives' Opinions Regarding the Economic Regulatory System

	<u>Marketing Cooperatives</u>		<u>Savings Cooperatives</u>		<u>Altogether</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	No.	Perc.
Responded	105	63.5	96	62.3	201	63.0
Did Not Respond	60	36.5	58	37.7	118	37.0
Altogether	165	100.0	154	100.0	319	100.0
<u>Distribution of Respondents</u>						
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	No.	Perc.
Means a Problem	76	72.4	65	67.7	141	70.1
Does Not Mean Problem	29	27.6	31	32.3	60	29.9
Altogether	105	100.0	96	100.0	201	100.0

Thus 70 percent of the 201 respondents stress the unfavorable influence of the regulatory system.

The second open question pertained to the relationship between the state agencies and the cooperatives.

Table 2. Opinions Concerning the Relationship Between State Agencies and Cooperatives

	<u>Marketing Cooperatives</u>		<u>Savings Cooperatives</u>		<u>Altogether</u>	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	No.	Perc.
Responded	119	72.1	111	72.1	230	72.1
Did Not Respond	46	27.9	43	27.9	89	27.9
Altogether	165	100.0	154	100.0	319	100.0
<u>Distribution of Respondents</u>						
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	No.	Perc.
Means a Problem	94	79.0	64	57.7	158	68.7
Does Not Mean Problem	25	21.0	47	42.3	72	31.3
Altogether	119	100.0	111	100.0	230	100.0

Here, too, 70 percent of the respondents call attention to the problems in relations between the state agencies and the cooperatives.

## "State Curtailments Are Large, Little Remains for Satisfaction of Local Demands"

The result of our study indicates that the regulatory system which restricts the cooperatives' internal autonomous activity has become one of the most crucial points in the relationship between the state and the cooperatives. State management may be indirect in name only if it does not stop at the cooperatives' "gate," if the state's function of economic organization includes command over cooperatives' property, if the tax system disregards the cooperatives' special features, and if the state's influential role limits the use of cooperative capital to a narrow domain.

It becomes evident from the written and oral interviews and from examination of various documents that one of the fundamental reasons for the shrinkage in control over property is the ever increasing level of state curtailments. "State curtailments are large, little remains for satisfaction of local demands." Many opinions similar to this can be cited, and it can be added that since 1980 the centralization of cooperative capital has grown demonstrably to a significant degree. The centralized share of social net income produced in the cooperatives between 1980 and 1982 increased by 53 percent, the decentralized--hence remaining in the cooperatives--share by only 18 percent.\* This fact in itself indicates the restrictions on the assertion of the cooperatives' autonomy. The cooperatives' autonomy and the equality of rights in the relationship between the state and the cooperatives are, namely, the category which rests on control over the cooperatives' capital, and the grandiose catchwords connected with it and actual practice in particular forget this too easily. For lack of material resources, or rather due to the centralization of capital, control in a portion of the proprietary issues "glides upward," and thus the cooperatives are excluded from the opportunity for independent decisionmaking, or rather their independence can be asserted only in proportion to the curtailed material resources and the actual scope of authority corresponding to them.

The cooperatives emphasize two results of the increasing curtailments. One is the limitation on their own development and investment activity based on proprietary decisions. "The profits tax is high, the residual basis is scanty, and this makes developments impossible." The other result is the unfavorable impact exerted on the membership's interest. "Due to the excessive state curtailments, it is hard to make the membership materially interested. The increase in state curtailments reduces the cooperative's profits and consequently the investment resources, and this harms the membership's local interests." The leader of another cooperative, however, thinks that the members "are not interested in being members." The head of a savings cooperative characterizes the strained relations in this way: "The curtailments are excessive, 10 to 12 percent of a financial year's outcome goes into the cooperative's funds, although from the very outset it has managed from internal and members' resources."

## "It Orders the Corporative Approval of Questions in Which There Is No Other Possibility for Making Decisions"

The cooperatives also object to the fact that the regulatory system drives a wedge between the formal and the actual decision. "The regulatory system imposes inflexible

\* Dr Pal Szilvasan, "Cooperative and Personal Interest and the Democratic Management System." Documents of the 1983 conference on cooperatives.

and rigorous restrictions and leaves virtually no opportunity for choices and decisions. Moreover, it orders the corporative approval of questions in which there is no other possibility for making decisions." There are also opinions to the effect that "the membership's right to make decisions has become a sheer formality," or rather that the regulatory system "presents the cooperatives' leaders with faits accomplis." A very characteristic view: "It is superfluous to have a delegate conference approve--in a resolution--sections related to financial matters which, for that matter, are prescribed by law. This runs counter to the concept of alliance and harms cooperative democracy."

As we have already mentioned, the state's regulatory activity even covers direct proprietary interest and the domain of utilization of cooperative capital. Opinions of the cooperatives indicate that all state regulation and overt or covert state activity which--over and above taxation--restrict the employment of cooperative capital make the proprietary decisions a formality. Many point out, for example, that the formation and application of the membership's interest fund are severely limited by the central government. "Not the membership but rather the Finance Ministry decree decides on the membership's interest fund." "The membership's decision has become a formality: the formation and use of funds are automatic."

The above-mentioned ever growing centralization of cooperative capital has also played a significant role in the easily observable tendency that the relationship between the cooperatives and their membership has weakened in the past decade. On the other hand, the fact that the membership's interest is gratuitously bound by the state and is thereby schematic and paltry plays a role in the slackness and hampers assertion of what is essential in the alliance.

Numerous signs thus indicate that the state's financial and economic regulatory activity has penetrated too deeply into the cooperatives' property and in doing so has brought about changes in it which call into question its cooperative nature. "For all practical purposes, the regulatory system which has operated uniformly since 1968 has made management of the cooperatives similar to the system for management of the state enterprises." The situation was most appropriately described by a cooperative leader according to whom "in practice, the cooperatives' group interests can only assert themselves to the extent which state regulation permits it."

In the last decade and a half, the cooperative nature of cooperative property has diminished and--what we considered such a great success not long ago--state and cooperative property has "approached" each other because "we in the central government have sometimes kept the management of cooperatives within confines and standards, as if they were state enterprises."\*

The regulatory system's big problem is standardization of taxation. The special features of cooperative property and various cooperative economic activities and the dissimilar objective endowments presuppose a differentiated tax system in which the sharing of cooperative income between the state and the cooperatives takes place on the basis of a differentiated tax rate, and after the payment of taxes to the state, income utilization in its entirety falls within the province

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\* Janos Komlo, "Do We Have a Peasant Class?" TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK, No 2, 1980.

of the cooperatives. After sharing with the state, there is no place for any kind of overt or covert state regulation which describes the standard taxation. This is one of the basic conditions for assertion of the special features of cooperatives. Thus one of the conditions for the discontinuance of regulations covering partial fields of cooperative activity is termination of the standardization of the tax system and development of a differentiated tax system.

With respect to the state's economic organization activity pertaining to cooperatives, it is not at all correct to speak of a regulatory system, because the influential role does not mean that but rather, for example, the state tax policy, credit and interest policy, wage and price policy. Only such a direct exertion of influence can consistently assure the cooperatives' autonomy in the economic sphere, consideration for the membership's interests in labor movement questions, and achievement of cooperative democracy, self-government. There is no place for regulatory elements (similar to the state enterprises) such as, for example, separate wage regulation, any kind of regulation of cooperative income after taxation, not to mention such ad hoc measures as, for instance, the seizure of cooperative capital. But regulation of the cooperative leadership's material interest system through state rules and standards is not acceptable, either, because this makes assertion of the principle of collective leadership impossible. Cooperative wage regulation and wage administration and the interest system--the tasks within the cooperative movement and their concrete forms--can be very diverse in the different cooperatives.

#### "Continuous Modification Means the Failure of the Lawyers"

One of the most important products of state legislative activity in connection with the cooperatives is the uniform Cooperative Law which went into effect in 1970 and which has already been modified twice since then. With its establishment there came into being an interpretation of the law which wants to introduce the cooperative forms, their institutions and the system of authority into the movement from outside and wants to "find" cooperative institutions from outside. This concept has risen to the rank of practice in the last 15 years, and therefore in our country the state establishes the cooperative forms and the proprietary institutions; yet this should be the task of the membership and the cooperatives' creators, or rather the movement. So the main problem is that the state regulates not only the connection between society's goals and the cooperative movement's goals but also the organizational and jurisdictional conditions which support the cooperative movement's goals for autonomy, and this even extends to the institutional system which is equivalent to the direct functional domain of the membership's interests. Four major consequences of this "functional miss" must be stressed.

The first is the decline of the direct institutional system of cooperative democracy and the strengthening of formalism. There are two general views considered valid. "The membership meetings are ceremonial, they do not achieve their goals. The only way you can form a quorum, even with cosmetics, is if there is a raffle." "A quorum at the membership meetings is almost never guaranteed. This is also shown by statistics, when the turnout is only 1 or 2 percent or one-tenth above the number required for a vote. Everyone gets hold of the missing signatures from somewhere." According to another cooperative leader, this is "unfair to the movement."

The second consequence is that there evolves a bureaucratic mechanism for regulation from outside. And yet the proprietary institutional system regulated from outside

can adapt only clumsily to the changing circumstances. The problem is aptly characterized by the view that "there is something wrong with the Cooperative Law. There was a modification in 1977, and it proved necessary again recently because practice shows conclusively that it is not good. Continuous modification means the failure of the lawyers."

The third problem is that the overdetailed law has reduced the membership's identification with the institutional system established from outside. Since the membership's role in the development of organizational relations and cooperative form is not significant, it does not experience the institutional system as its own. Development of the membership's institutional system is the task of the membership; if it does not happen this way, then the developed organizations cannot successfully fulfill their role of asserting and supporting interests. This is true even if the central headquarters in the preparatory department for the development of institutional systems requests the cooperatives' opinions. It is not the creators of the cooperatives who make the organizations which are marked out to assert their interests, but this is the indispensable condition for the practical application and functioning of cooperative thought.

The fourth--and perhaps most serious--consequence of the state's legislative activity is that the uniform and schematic regulation of the cooperatives has standardized the various cooperative types and sectors and thereby put an end to the richness of forms and the diversity of possibilities for practical application of cooperative thought. But among the individual cooperative forms there are--with respect to membership linkage, interests and other characteristics--important differences to which uniform regulation is unable to pay adequate attention. The conflicts of standardization in some cooperative sectors present themselves more and more sharply, for example, in the uniform marketing cooperative system. According to one cooperative leader, "the Cooperative Law contains many formal elements which have no practical use; on the other hand, they involve significant additional expenses. The law disregards a series of factors, for example, that the membership relation is not a life-and-death issue for the members of the marketing cooperatives."

The possibility for diverse application of cooperative thought precludes any standardization effort. The uniform Cooperative Law pertaining to the details of the membership institutional systems of cooperative forms was doomed to failure from the very outset, because it brings with it the danger of the atrophy of essential activity in the cooperative proprietary organizations. One of the state guarantees for revival of the cooperative movement, for development of its willingness to reorganize, and for the propagation of new cooperative forms which adjust to the altered requirements is the termination or rather the gradual breakdown of uniform legal barriers. The history of the cooperative movement shows so far that the cooperatives have been able to fulfill their role most successfully in society and in the economy when the state made it possible for a diverse cooperative organizational system to develop.

#### "The Thousands of Rules, Regulations and Standards Are Obstacles to Progress"

A further problem in the relationship between the state and the cooperatives is government overregulation, or rather its impact, the complexity of the system for supplying data and information in connection with macroeconomic management organization, the phenomenon of economic bureaucracy. Legal, financial and economic

overregulation also fits into this latter concept, of course. The following opinion describes this well. "I regard the state management--about which pages could be written--as bureaucratic. Bureaucratic elements are especially conspicuous in the following areas: budgetary relations, accounting statements, balance sheet preparations, statistical systems, retail administration, etc., etc. Now--in addition to the chimney sweeps--the environmental protectors can also impose fines; some economic organizations--the Hungarian State Railways, the Post Office, for example--behave like authorities."

A peculiar problem crops up here: numerous state economic agencies behave like authorities, or rather middle-level administrative agencies, vis-a-vis the cooperatives. Thus in quite a few areas the principle of equal conditions cannot assert itself between the cooperatives and their state partners. This is confirmed by the monopoly of a significant share--the wholesale enterprises, for example--of the cooperatives' shippers, or rather by the product mix role which routinely hampers or excludes the assertion of equal conditions--fulfilled in distribution, as a result of these organizations' lack of various commodities.

The authoritative role of the OTP [National Savings Bank] is a serious problem in the savings cooperatives. We can find it thoroughly strange that the OTP has such a function since, from the cooperatives' viewpoint, it is a question of a competitor, or rather a partner organization. "According to the Cooperative Law, the cooperatives have become one of the important sectors--having a value identical to that of the state enterprises--in the socialist economy. No one takes this seriously on the state level, and on the banking level the savings cooperatives are considered an auxiliary staff of the OTP." There are places where the OTP participates in the financial auditing of the savings cooperatives. "By what right does the OTP express an opinion on our rules of procedure?" wonders a cooperative leader. Others point out the unjustifiably advantageous position which results from the OTP's authoritative role.

The following opinion aptly describes the consequences of economic bureaucracy: "The cooperative movement's biggest problem is that our economic and social life--chiefly for lack of middle-level management--simply does not take notice of the cooperatives' special features. The monopolistic position of industry and wholesale trade has not changed, and heaps of authorities--the Public Health and Medical Clinic for Contagious Diseases, the Fire-Fighting Organization, Energy Surveillance, the State Inspectorate of Trade, etc--continuously take unfair advantage of their authoritative character. The thousands of rules, regulations, standards and norms which control the cooperatives' activity, the formation of funds, wage regulation, etc, are obstacles to progress."

The deleterious effect of overregulation is not a matter of indifference from the viewpoint of the national economy, since an efficiency increase is in society's interest. The economic advantages of the cooperative form can be exploited mainly in those areas of the economy where there is a need for decentralized activity and for organizations capable of accommodation quicker and more flexible than the average. In the case of comparatively smaller scale organizations, however, this very flexibility, entrepreneurial spirit and readiness to innovate is hampered by overregulation; the smaller economic organizations are unable to concentrate adequately on management and the market, and formal activity--"papermaking"--gains the upper hand. One can only agree with the endeavor that "we must see to it that

the laws which determine the different functional, professional and accounting regulations are simpler and allow the most diversified internal solutions; that the absurd situation does not develop in which regulations determine internal conditions which must be regulated by contracts or which it is harmful to regulate and in which the total volume of the internal regulations at the average marketing cooperative--the activity of the marketing cooperative is the most diversified--is 600-800 pages."\*

#### "Party and Local Agencies in the Functional Sphere Show Active Managerial Aspirations"

Theoretically, the state's legal supervision is only a monitoring of the lawfulness of the cooperatives' operation; the financial audit, however, means examination of the financial rules, primarily the rules in connection with taxation. The fact-finding investigation nevertheless shows that, in reality, activity exceeding the scope of state supervision and financial auditing is frequent.

The unjustified expansion of the financial audit into subregions of cooperative management and, for practical purposes, inspection of the cooperatives' economic decisions are connected to the regulatory system's "functional miss." Overregulation brings about activity which exceeds the jurisdiction of financial auditing.

"Intervention in the use of the membership's interest basis on the part of financial auditing, on the one hand, harms the interests of the cooperative membership and, on the other hand, the bureaucratic attitude is a mockery of cooperative democracy." Interesting is the opinion according to which "in the inspections carried out by financial auditing there are more and more internal directives which are known only in the apparatus of the concerned agency and whose implementation they are called to account for." The following view indicates, however, that there is significant room for improvement in the efficiency of the inspections. "The inspections waste an enormous amount of the cooperative leaders' time. There is a lot of asking for data and statements, and the auditors must be provided with them. The inspections are long and amount to little. The people's auditors and the auditors of the Agricultural Production Cooperative and the Finance Ministry perform an inspection--which could be completed in a week--in a month and a half only because that much time has been set aside for it."

There are also other problems in connection with the state's legal inspections. One is activity which exceeds jurisdiction. Let this be an example here of which subregions this extends into. "The supervisory agencies also investigate issues outside their authority and then take a position on them, for example, that the membership file should be in strict alphabetical order as opposed to filing in accordance with the current membership meeting districts."

It is interesting that many cooperative leaders call attention to the formalism of the legal inspections. "Compliance--whose content requirements can be assured only by force--with the rules of law is emphasized." There are those who object to the lack of knowledge about special features of the cooperatives, others who object to the lack of professional training of those performing the supervisory inspections. Many point to the parallelism and lack of coordination in the various inspections--professional, legal, financial, Agricultural Production Cooperative audits. There are those who call attention to the self-contradictory statements of the various controlling agencies. "The cooperatives' situation is made difficult by the fact that the inspections--nearly identical professionally--take

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\* "The Cooperative Movement in the Economic Reform Process." The Cooperative Research Institute's topic of debate, VALOSAG, 1984, No 2, p 22.

place at different times." "It often happens that the various agencies examine the same subject, only from another viewpoint. For example, the Agricultural Production Cooperative audit claims, on the negative side, that business has declined, and we also claim this on the negative side. But the Finance Ministry did the same inspection, only from another--contradictory--viewpoint."

The unclearness of the organizational system and functions of cooperative auditing and the problems of the connection to state supervision must also be mentioned. "From time to time there are needless overlaps between the inspections of the auditor's office and the inspections of the state agencies. The auditor's office inspected personal entertainment for 15 days, and the high inspection fee exceeded the entertainment expenses." "The function of the auditor's office is obscure because we have ourselves inspected at our own expense and on the basis of our own letter of commission, but this does not protect us from the Finance Ministry's fines. Our cooperative paid a significant fine the last 2 years, and the production result had to be corrected by a considerable sum, while reinspection of the balance sheet by the auditor's office was performed every year." According to another cooperative leader, "through the intervention of the Agricultural Production Cooperative and the auditor's office the number of inspections is doubled by the fact that, in the long run, the Finance Ministry accepts only its own audits, no matter which authority provides the supervisory jurisdiction."

An area burdened with many problems between the state and the cooperatives is the relationship with the local and party agencies. Although significant changes have recently occurred in the organization system of local and party management, they still have not solved all the problems. In the first place, as a result of the cooperatives' special features--large functional area, many communities--it is worthwhile to deal with those marks which call attention to parallelisms and jurisdictional problems. "There are too many leaders. Many agencies control and interfere in the cooperative's work." "Each agency wants to give orders, there are lots of agencies giving advice and directives, no one gives concrete help." The cooperatives point out such problems as "on the state level, the cooperatives' structure and functional mechanism are unknown," or rather that "the expertness of the advice is weak."

Several cooperatives indicate that the local agencies interfere, in an active way, in the cooperatives' life. "The main problem is that the local and party organs--lacking knowledge of economics and the regulatory system--show active managerial aspirations in the functional sphere. Brutal harm to economic and cooperative independence is frequent." According to another opinion, "many times the state agencies high-handedly intervene in economic activity, for example, the creation of investments, the creation of specialized groups, approval of children's institutions." "There are as many chiefs, statements, reports, local patriotic wishes as there are communities." "Five community councils operate in our functional field. Every year we render an account separately. In addition to the community agencies, the megye also has an account rendered." Also in connection with this problem is the opinion that "the party and the council render a report on the same issues, in the same communities twice a year, too, because they have nothing to discuss. In addition, we report to the membership conference, the workplace community, the production council, the cooperative party agency, the trade union committee, etc. It is tiresome and takes up a lot of our time." "The local state and party agencies intervene excessively in the cooperative's economic activity,

for example, shutting down a store, forcing the establishment of an unprofitable unit, determining the hours open for business."

Concerning the relation between the cooperatives and the local agencies, there is also the opinion that "the local megye agencies distinguish between state and cooperative trade, to the detriment of the latter." Another cooperative leader finds that "in the distribution of allotted goods, not the business share but the state-cooperative sector is the decisive thing, to the detriment of the latter." And there is the view that "on the councils the workers see a needlessly large difference between state and cooperative property. They are jealous of the cooperatives."

#### What Is the Solution?

The cooperative system is an organic part of the national economy and society; there is extensive interaction between the cooperative movement and the state. Experiences and the fact-finding investigation indicate, however, that so far we have not succeeded in solving the cooperative movement's currently appropriate incorporation into the social and economic system. During the relation's further development, the emerging tasks--partly as a supplement to what was discussed in the foregoing, partly in addition to those--are the following.

The issue of key importance is that strategic proprietary decisions in connection with cooperative management must be truly and clearly marked off from the national and local agencies of state macroeconomic management, and those must be placed unequivocally and truly on the cooperative level. Resolutions and organizations proclaimed in rules of law are not sufficient for the assertion of actual proprietary decisions; state and institutional guarantees are necessary for this. At the same time, the cooperative experiences are admonitory with respect to plans linked to the decentralization of proprietary rights in the state sector.

The basic condition is that the cooperative leaders' life-and-death dependence on local state and advisory agencies as well as on regional associations without material interest and responsibility comes to an end and that all employer-related issues linked to cooperative leaders actually--in conformity with cooperative principles--end up within the jurisdiction of cooperative proprietary agencies. If this condition does not materialize, the autonomy of the cooperatives cannot be guaranteed even in the event the other remaining conditions are realized. It would be necessary that not only formal decisions but the entire decisionmaking process--the pursuit and selection of leaders and, in connection with this, the right to take initiatives and make decisions and recommendations, elaboration of an interest system for cooperative leaders based on local conditions, etc--end up in the cooperative proprietary organizations. Let the cooperative's membership seek out its leader, and not outside agencies and associations; in the case of competition, let the cooperative proprietary organization establish the conditions for competition, and let the competition be arranged by this agency and not by the publically financed regional associations. That is to say, it is necessary for the state to make it truly possible for the cooperative principle of collective leadership to work.

Organizational changes and shakeups directed from above and from outside must be eliminated through institutional guarantees, and it must be assured that the establishment and liquidation of cooperatives, economic rehabilitation, property

rearrangement and the entire decisionmaking process of merger and separation are handled as internal matters of the cooperative movement. The development of structural and internal organizational, managerial and material-interest relations has to be regarded as part of cooperative autonomy. It should be made possible for the various and manifold forms of cooperative thought to develop in the different domains of the economy by the creation of new cooperative forms, on the one hand, and by the structural transformation of existing and--in some areas--fairly schematic organizational forms, on the other hand. The favorable conditions must be assured so that where, as a result of the centralization campaign, only "heaps" were created (without an economic, technological, organic connection), membership groups, businesses and factories--on the basis of initiative taking from below--can detach themselves from centralized organizational confines and become independent, or the connection--instead of centralization--can change into a function, an integration determined by the market and the efficiency requirements.

In the case of property rearrangement ordered from above between the state and cooperative agencies, conditions identical to those for property rearrangement between state agencies should be guaranteed for the cooperatives. More favorable conditions must also be assured so that the accumulated assets between the two sectors can be mobilized and, on the basis of automatic market mechanisms, flow toward the domains which guarantee greater earnings.

In the area of income regulation, the principle of gross income regulation would be best suited to the advanced relationship between the state and the cooperatives. It would be desirable if taxation took place with a differentiated, linear tax rate on the aggregate amount of wages and profits--in conformity with the specifics of the individual cooperative forms, and if the restriction-free use of after-tax income comes under the scope of the cooperatives. This solution would make possible the end of separate wage regulation and a more direct correlation between wages and output. The financial interest arising from cooperative property, however, would serve to assure the maintenance of the balance between consumption and stockpiling.

It would be necessary to put an end to the system of centrally established and covert curtailment channels, the joint development fund and the mutual support fund, or rather the redistribution of centralized monetary funds by publically financed agencies. Development of practical forms for implementing the principle of mutual support and cooperative solidarity must be entrusted to the cooperatives or rather the movement, and the spontaneity of capital flow among the cooperatives must be assured by systematic guarantees. Such a possibility is, for example, conversion of the joint development fund into a bank and the banklike functioning of the mutual support fund, or rather the establishment of other forms--stocks and bonds, for instance--of the money market among cooperatives.

For the sake of diversified activity among the cooperatives and the stimulation of entrepreneurial spirit, one might put an end to the breakdown into primary and secondary activity of the cooperative production profile, into basic and nonbasic activity. This would increase the cooperatives' interest in property acquisition.

Development of proprietary institutions and their scope of authority must be entrusted to the cooperatives. This would make it possible for the various forms of cooperative democracy and self-administration to evolve, depending on the

special local features. The cooperative membership's active participation in the evolution of the institutional system would help to eliminate the formal characteristics and to achieve the essential work of the proprietary organizations.

The state must assure conditions more favorable to development of the many-sided financial and material relation between membership and cooperative, to enhancement of the membership's involvement, and to more active participation by the membership in the cooperative's entrepreneurial operations. For this it is above all necessary that the state not specify the degree of the dividend for the membership's financial contribution, but rather that the cooperative be able to decide how much of a share it pays its members for the material contribution to the realization of the cooperative's goals. The state restrictions deprive the cooperative of one of its essential characteristics.

It would be necessary to define more precisely the role of local party and advisory agencies in connection with cooperatives, since the danger of unjustified, active and informal intervention in cooperative activity presents itself to the greatest degree on this level. The local agencies cannot call the cooperatives to account for the "responsibility of providing service," and with reference to this they cannot be forced to perform unprofitable activity. The employment of operative and administrative measures must be excluded from the relationship between the local agencies and the cooperative, or rather they should be employed only in a regulated manner and within a circumscribed sphere. In practice, too, consistent adherence to the reform principle would be necessary with regard to state inspections; in short, the state supervision should extend only to lawful examination, the financial audit only to compliance with the rules for payment of taxes to the state.

The agencies of cooperatives with higher links should be freed from all tasks involving state authority and administration. However, the obligation to maintain certain forms with higher links must in fact be terminated, and the cooperatives must be entrusted with what kind of linkage forms--conceptual/budgetary organization, association, integration, joint enterprise, merger, service organization, etc--they want to operate. What must be assured is true spontaneity and the ability of the cooperatives to choose freely--depending on their regional and economic characteristics--what type of agency with higher links they want to join. In the reorganization of cooperative links we must proceed, not from the alliances, but from those tasks which the smaller cooperative units separately are unable to perform effectively, and the most efficient cooperative linkage forms must be sought for these tasks. This, however, cannot be decided by the central authorities, only by those with a knowledge of local characteristics.

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12327

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YUGOSLAVIA

# JOURNALIST MARKOVIC CHALLENGES VIEWS OF DRAGOSAVAC

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1780, 10 Feb 85  
pp 9-10

[Article by Dragan Markovic: "Tell Me, Mirror"]

[Text] First a little self-criticism.

Although it persistently strives to be as democratic as possible in informing the public, to tell "the whole truth," even on this occasion, in reporting from the Symposium in Skoplje on Kardelj's work and public property, the press was not able to get away from the old "hierarchical principle": that publicity is not obtained by thought but rather by function. Unfortunately, it is difficult for even our long indoctrinated awareness to get away from today's press psychology when there has been "bureaucratic favoritism" and idolatrous fawning upon every word uttered "from the top."

And thus it did happen that at the expense of a serious scientific dialogue we have learned a great deal more about what was said at the Symposium about the current situation by Dusan Dragosavac, a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. The mistake could only be that this political speech--because of scientific quotations--was understood to be science, and was disseminated to the public with these motives. But I will also use some quotations--and it still will not be science.

Let us pass on, however, to the matter itself.

In order for me to interpret more clearly my own view of this monologue at the Symposium in Skoplje, which did not remain without a response, I must again make a small introduction.

I think that today we will encounter phenomena in two ideological spheres, which of course have points in common, but we still cannot identify them correctly unless we clearly examine their motivations and functions.

In the first sphere: there is the increasingly more aggressive pressure from opposition forces, primarily of right-wing derivation, which--united both in thought and in action--would disparage any socialism, even ours, as a "system without a way out." Their pressure is obviously escalating along anti-Communist lines; it is no longer merely a criticism of real socialism or

dogmatic-Stalinist ideology, but is also challenging the Yugoslav self-management model and socialism as a world process in general. Such an escalation naturally occurs as a development of resistance "in thought" into resistance "in action," and it is assuming or will assume the form of overt counterrevolution.

It is completely immaterial, if we see things in such a way (and the revolutions that did not see them no longer exist) that it is then just a question of the method of the struggle and not its ideological essence, whether it is a question of right-wing bourgeois ideologies, nationalisms, neo-Informburists, or the so-called left-wing phrases. It is increasingly clearer that all of this is flowing together into one bed. It is just a matter of assessments, naturally important and sensitive ones, of when, how much, and by what means to prevent such pressures so that tomorrow they do not become a potential force for counter-revolution.

So much for that, which is probably clear, since we have had enough work and even more experiences with counterrevolutions both during the war and after it.

Dragosavac, however, does not speak in Skoplje about these forces, but rather about tendencies within the LC, or at least within the forces of socialism. And when he talks about this, naturally making dramatic use of quotations from Kardelj whenever he needs them, he invents a thesis, qualifies it, and thus in fact engages in polemics with himself.

At any rate, here is his monologue:

"There are also those who support exclusively [last word emphasized by Markovic] majority decision-making in the assembly, but at the same time they are essentially opposed to democratic centralism in the LC when this does not suit them personally, or they would even use democratic centralism and majority decision-making for hegemonism. Not one LC organization of forum can vote against equality. The equality of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia is a sine qua non condition for its successful development."

Thus: "there are also those..."

Now let us just see--who are they?

I do not know of any LC organization (and I am certain that such an organization does not even exist except in someone's programmed imagination) or any LC forum that has voted against equality! Can Dragosavac tell us where he discovered this "enemy"--within the LC itself--who could actually, seriously, and under our positive laws also criminally, advocate the destruction of the fraternity and unity of the peoples and nationalities of the SFRY? If he cannot, then a serious question arises: slander of the LC, by a high party official.

Thus, tracking down this anonymous criminal, and not believing that a member of the highest party body could have a lapsus (not linguae), I came to myself, by the pang of conscience.

This is how.

But first of all, one more quotation from Dragosavac:

"There are also those (again those!--emphasis by Markovic) who stress that the Economic Stabilization Program cannot be carried out without changes in the political system that would exclude the nationalities from republic and federal statehood. Some people (emphasis again by Markovic), through their statements, are trying to create an alibi for their own economic blunders, and there are also those who assert that the root of nationalism in their nation originates in the fact that others also participate equally in republic and federal statehood. In this they virtually do not differ from the irredentists (emphasis by Markovic) who seek this for themselves."

Here there is already a little more confusion, since, among other things, I really did not know that the irredentists "asserted that the root of nationalism in their nation originated in the fact that others also participated equally in republic and federal statehood."

Even if this is also the truth, however, we will again have a great deal to do with criminal law and not political rights.

But now let me go back to myself.

With the good intention of freeing Dragosavac from the old Gallic declaration: "This is my opinion and I agree with it," as well as other difficulties in proving whether the chicken or the egg came first. I must now justify myself. Specifically, I am now quite certain that he was thinking of my discussion at the 18th meeting of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC. But since it is not nice to quote oneself, I will defend myself with theses, and whoever wants to can check the transcript.

It is true that I advocated a restriction on consensus in decision-making in the federation and even in several other structures, but I did not utter the term "exclusively [emphasized by author] majority decision-making." It is true that I also spoke about democratic centralism, but until Dragosavac I thought that it had a different meaning for our movement and the LC than "hegemonistic" [emphasized by author]. The only thing left for me is to consider this new theory of the party and whether I should submit to it or be a dissident. But more on that later.

It is true that I spoke about the fact that the Stabilization Program is not "a collection of fire-extinguishing measures," and that as a strategy it could not be carried out completely and consistently without changes in the political system as well, but I did not add to this, "which will exclude the nationalities from republic and federal statehood."

And finally, I never said, not even on 18 September, that "the root of nationalism in (my) nation originates from the fact that others participate equally in republic and federal statehood." Instead, I said, "Some people (again some people; I was emphasizing myself--D. Markovic) are asking what Serbia wants. But Serbia wants neither more nor less than the others, and thus it wants the same thing."

Why did I view myself as the "scapegoat" of Dragosavac's January theses and accusations? Simply because I did not hear from anyone--literally--at the 18th meeting of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, and especially not in the Positions and Conclusions of that forum (since Dragosavac also mentions forums), even approximately the same or similar assertions as the ones with which he is supposedly engaging in polemics. It was thus left for me to "reexamine" myself again.

I would like to say two things more.

First of all (and this is the first), let me quote Kardelj too:

"The first is the issue of the 'veto' of the republics, which has its defenders in the present discussions, and in addition to this it is being dragged into our assembly life automatically, through pressures. History shows that a very bad historical fate befell the state systems that were based on the 'veto right' as a general principle. And this is not all. We were opposed to having the large outvote the small, and the veto right is actually an outvoting by each against all, since it virtually rules out any democratic decision-making and leads to the crudest confrontation of pressure with pressure, in which conflicts of this type must inevitably, sooner or later, lead to the restoration of one form or another of state coercion, hegemonism, or political absolutism. If we want to avoid such inevitable consequences, which we should already think about today and not just tomorrow--then the functions of the Federation must really be reduced to the realistic and essential framework of the aforementioned common interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but at the same time it is necessary to ensure that the organs of the federation are also capable of performing their functions and making decisions effectively, democratically and by democratic means, and this also means by majority vote..."

Well, let us finish this up for now, perhaps with one more dilemma:

Comrade Dragosavac, if your January theses in Skoplje are science (old or new, it does not matter), I am not capable of debating them fully; I leave this to those more used to it. If, however, they are merely a personal interpretation of the collective position of your and my Yugoslav party leadership (which you must tell me), all I can do (regardless of my personal opinion), is to submit to them, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism without hegemonistic covers; but if they are neither one nor the other, what will we do then?

I really don't know. At any rate, there is never any end to human thought.

9909

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YUGOSLAVIA

MUHIC DISCUSSES INTELLECTUAL COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

Belgrade BORBSA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Feb 85 p 2, 4 Feb 85 p 5

[Articles by Dr Fuad Muhic: "The Proponents of 'National Reconciliation'"; "Whispering Among Themselves"]

[Text] After lengthy and rather sterile discussions of whether we have a domestic opposition, or merely tendencies that can be countered by a "book in reply to a book" approach, we are now faced with another dilemma: do we have an "intellectual counterrevolution" or merely forces which enrich our ideological folklore and should be left in peace or perhaps be hinted at or referred to in a footnote on a political occasion if we find once again that it is a question of isolated individuals or small groups exerting no major influence on events in society?

The "intellectual counterrevolution" is quick to show that it is wise enough not to wait for a response to our vacillations and often quibbling over its essence. Adhering to the principle that struggle against the SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] is to it simultaneously a struggle against the times, the historical pace of which is becoming faster and faster in Yugoslavia (I cite the opinion of Desanka Ivkovic that "without greater consistency on the part of the highest organs in implementing the conclusions of the 13th session of the SKJ central committee, this session may be recorded as the last opportunity for restoring the confidence of party members, as well as the last occasion for betraying this confidence"), the "intellectual counterrevolution" itself wants to put on the Hegelian seven-league boots. Its latest challenge is the "national reconciliation platform," whose proponents are intellectuals of revived bourgeois sentiment and persons who have long been trying to inflame vengeful passions against the revolution. A prominent role among them is also played by certain former revolutionaries, dissidents who have split with the SKJ or advocates of "humanistic alternatives" in dealing with and interpreting the past. But it is unquestionably the nationalist and unitarianist right which seeks to gain the greatest advantage. It welcomes any collaboration with clerical nationalism or with the segment of the bureaucracy which it is happy to keep as a strategic reserve against the event of assumed conflictual situations in the SKJ itself.

## Basis of the Platform

The basis of the "national reconciliation" platform is represented by treatment of our revolution as a kind of civil war<sup>1</sup>, which has by no means been an exceptional occurrence in 20th century Europe, so that universal European standards should be applied to it. In an unfortunate set of circumstances, state its ideologists (including among these circumstances above all penetration of the "bolshevik plague" as an aberration of the Asiatic steppes and the Orient and by no means a collective Western delusion), our nations were differentiated internally into two large groups. The first, indoctrinated with proletarian internationalism and the now outmoded system of categories of class conscience from the arsenal of concepts of 19th century marxism, equally obsessed with the idea of the first "state of workers and peasants" in the USSR, and convinced of its emancipationist mission by the militant leninist-stalinist vanguard (the KPJ [Communist Party of Yugoslavia]), was historically betrayed and deceived during the Second World War. It was at that time made ready to approve and after the war, to formally legitimize an order which was to call itself socialist but which was to retain to the present day the characteristics, never overcome, of bolshevism, stalinism, and neostalinism.

The other group, continue the proponents of "national reconciliation," has in each of our nations followed the ideology of "blood and soil," the past and tradition, being in its own way convinced that its national origins, as the last sanctuary of existence, are threatened. The set of circumstances was much more tragic in this case, since it has been refracted through the spectrum of experience in prewar Yugoslavia. Serbian nationalism has interpreted it as a legal state of the European type whose multiparty national system would reflect the essential character of liberal 19th century bourgeois philosophy. The monarchic form of government radiated patriarchic warmth and homeliness, as well as the mysticism of the Orthodox religion, for the Serbian bourgeois and the Serbian peasant alike. Hence it is no wonder that in the "civil war" the Serbian national grouping rallied around the flag of "with belief in God, for king and country." Croatian nationalism, however, had an entirely different experience. It encountered its direct negation in the unitarist system of monarchic Yugoslavia, and its dream of restoration of the "1000-year Croatia statehood" of necessity also developed into the powerful ideological stimulus of the lost "blood and soil." A similar stimulus motivated the Slovene nationalists. Among the latter it was accompanied by the dramatic misfortune of the Slovenes as "the most tragic people in Europe" who never succeeded in expressing their independence in a suitable historical manner. Such has been the case with the other parts of Yugoslavia. The "blood and soil" ideology developed in Macedonia in the midst of Bulgarian chauvinist and Serbian chauvinist tendencies. In Montenegro it revived the spirit of traditional association with the Serbian and Russian Orthodox Church, and in Moslem-threatened Bosnia and Herzegovina it offered spiritual sanctuary in the metaphor referring to them as "jewels of the Croatian people."

## What Have They Done?

Each of these groupings in our nations, state the champions of "national reconciliation," has experienced a dramatic historical fate which should be the subject of profound thought today, when strong feelings should have calmed

down and given way to soberer judgment. Leadership of them has been assumed by movements (Chetnik, Ustasha, Domobran [Home Guard], Balist, etc) which have also tried to be the vanguard in realization of a specific ideology. And what have they done? The same as the communist vanguard; they have availed themselves of all means, from persuasion to the blackest terror and mass extermination of enemies. There has been killing on all sides, and nobody has been able to claim humaneness, even if he would like to have done so. The nationalist movements are in universal disarray, but despite mutual intolerance between individual movements, they have a common theme in hatred of bolshevism and communism in general. They have committed countless atrocities in defense of "blood and soil," but so has the other (communist) side. The latter had the advantage that it was victorious at the end of the war and that it had the opportunity of destroying at that time everything associated with the insignia and regalia of the enemy.

At this point in the discussion the ideologists of "national reconciliation" do not conceal the fact that they are proceeding on the assumptions of bourgeois science and historiography. Seeking theoretical inspiration in the section of these assumptions termed "value-neutral sociological science," they hold that, in a conflict of ideological trends, the decisive factor is not their content but the set of circumstances in which the conflict takes place. This methodological position is correct insofar as ideas in history, if they are to have genuine material force, must have agents who will carry out the intent of the ideas by use of suitable means of procedure. Indeed, history is not controlled exclusively by theoretical reasoning to the effect that a particular ideology must automatically be genuine by virtue of the fact that it is intellectual. The role of practical reasoning, which acts as the agent in empirical accomplishments, is at the least just as important. But our proponents of "national reconciliation" have arrived at much broader conclusions. According to them, since it is impossible to verify in practice and assign degrees of rank to the content of any ideology, every ideology is entitled to real co-existence, even if it has been vanquished in a major social upheaval. Defeat of an ideology is not at the same time proof that it is not valid. It may be revived in another situation, when repression of it is relaxed, either because it has internal strength of its own or because the victorious design gradually exhausts its potential and approaches its immanent end.

Precisely such a situation, in the opinion of the proponents in question, has realistic prospects in our society. If the revolution, as they see it, was nothing but a civil war, there took place in it a conflict of two major designs (national-bourgeois and class-communist), the latter of which proclaimed itself to be intellectual solely because it proved to be victorious. While they were engaged in conflict, both designs intensified the conscience of their supporters to a state of tragic euphoria, fanaticism, and exaltation. After the conflict had been settled by victory of arms, the tragedy continued because history was now being written by the victors and the ideologists of the losing side have been liquidated or scattered throughout the world. But the presumed tragedy has another dimension which the former revolutionaries (Covic, Djilas, Tadjman) and dissidents of the radical left (Tadic, Z. Golubovic, Strojjanovic, and others) have been especially desirous of clarifying. According to them, it is manifested in the epochal defeat of the

bolshevik concept in Yugoslav society and the parallel need (to all appearances) to subject the premature triumph of the communists to re-examination. The right promptly accepted this formulation, and in 1984 advanced the demand on several occasions that history in Yugoslavia also be written by the vanquished, since, considering the tragedy they have experienced, their version would be more credible than the officially approved history.

### The Enemies Myth

A demand for their rehabilitation was soon forthcoming. They were discussed (for the time being only very little and in passing) at two meetings of intellectuals (in Ljubljana and Belgrade). The inflections were almost identical. Just as D. Cosic wrote in "Stvarno i moguce" [The Actual and the Possible] about "our unfortunate brethren," so Lj. Tadic insisted that "our civil war, which has been going on for 40 years now," be brought to an end.<sup>2</sup> Appended to the proposal by a Slovene woman writer that a common memorial be erected to partisans and Domobran members was a demand by M. Beckovic for pardon for traitors, Ustasha members, and other cutthroats.

Hovering above all these lamentations is the myth of enemies of the revolution as "errant brethren." It is not merely imbued with saccharine petty bourgeois romanticism but also with a specific ideological message: if the errancy of the "brethren" consisted in their conviction that they fought and died for a just cause, today the cause itself should be rehabilitated, along with the "brethren."

It is not a question of a fabricated ideological charge, since under the pretext that an entire "communist design" has failed as being international, the only chance for survival is offered by "cessation of the civil war" and "national reconciliation." All illusions have been dispelled, and the imperative of restoring the nation as the last sanctuary of life also appears to be the last alternative.

This imperative is actually an inverted image of certain actual fragments of our life. Nationalism has unquestionably gone resolutely on the offensive and is favored in many respects by the disintegration of the unified Yugoslav market, the absolutization of sovereignty which the statism of the republics and provinces entails, the process of federalizing the SKJ, and many attendant factors. The wavering segment of the public readily succumbs to the psychosis of everything associated with the concept of national, from charismatic glorification of one's own bureaucracy, which will devise messianic means of national salvation, to progressive conviction that the ideology of "national reconciliation" is not as heretical as it is made out to be by "communist ideologists." In the creation of these psychotic states equal persistence is displayed by all the elements which the revolution rejected or which themselves disagreed with its intentions and sought refuge in a "new vanguard." The dissidents are the most perseverant. According to a thought advanced by Isaac Deutscher, they must be at least several times more industrious in anti-communist propaganda than the "normal" enemies of the revolution in order to conceal their guilty conscience and allay the doubts of new allies regarding their sincerity.

The proponents of "national reconciliation" are trying to form a powerful bloc of conscience which will influence the course of public opinion. The method of psychological intimidation occupies a prominent place in the strategy of their attack, and is also aimed at members of the party. The "new vanguard" ideology, derived from the aphorism that "to be in the vanguard means not to belong to the (communist) vanguard," is aimed at indoctrination of the conscience of the new generation of creative artists. The concept of "communist commitment" is taken as an example of how not to act, and the pathos of disappointment is established as a symbol of mutual recognition and identification.

In order for "national reconciliation" to appear to be progressive, it does not operate with the concept of "bourgeois restoration" but with the syntagma of "national socialism." One of its creators is Milovan Djilas. As he interprets it, "national reconciliation" in Croatia would include democratic communists, christian democrats, and clerical nationalists. In Serbia it would revive the bourgeois multiparty system as it existed over the "most mature and unified democratic period" (1903-1914). For Bosnia and Herzegovina it even anticipated "Islamic socialism" co-existing with "Croatian" and "Serbian" socialism. Dobrica Cosic was quite explicit in writing that in settling scores with stalinism the Serbian communists were inspired not by marxism but by the mystique of Kosovo. On the same level are the theses of Kosta Cavoski about usurpation of power by the communists over the period from 1944 to 1949 and restoration of party pluralism as the only legitimate prospect. In Slovenia attempts are already being made to legalize the thesis of "history without ideological connotations."

There is an all-pervasive common thought: if the communist design was victorious in the "civil war" owing to introduction of "revolutionary Machiavellianism" into the set of circumstances prevailing at the time, today these circumstances should be organized in favor of the designs which were defeated so that their historical relevance might be brought to light again. It is hardly necessary to remind the initiated that the weaknesses of the "communist organization of society" are to be considered as a highly important factor; the importance of this factor increases the more that differentiation of communists into "democratic" and "orthodox" appears to be an imminent prospect.

#### Frustrated individuals

Such calculation is made both by ideologists of the domestic "intellectual counterrevolution" and by "democratic emigres" whose different alternatives for "democratic transformation of Yugoslavia" are based largely on winning over the "liberal faction" in the SKJ. Both sides expect that in an "organized set of circumstances" the "communist liberals" may possibly enter into the national reconciliation programs and occupy an even more prominent place in a national coalition than the one they currently hold in public life. This calculation applies above all to the irresolute segment of the intelligentsia, to which, in the opinion of the foreign devisers of alternative programs, the communist organization of society does not pay sufficient attention as regards its ambitions and which it even deliberately inhibits in order to make intellectuals an obedient social stratum.

This inhibition results in frustrated and disappointed individuals (philosophers, scientists, creative artists), who, along with the already existing "internal emigres" (dissidents), could be a useful initiator of dissatisfaction in crisis situations. In addition to them, an effort is made to win over to "national reconciliation" all circles (the business world, university corridors, insider groups at clubs) which are traditionally defined as "underground" or "whispered" public opinion but which in reality is nothing but an embodiment of the vacillating mentality of the middle classes and their readiness to submit to any structure which seems to have at least some prospect of becoming the dominant one.

There is the silent segment of the intelligentsia which does not speak out against the system but at the same time makes "mental reservations" about it and spends a considerable part of its working lifetime in silent ideological and political arbitration about the real and potential relationship of power in society. It never rebelled against nationalism and would opt for its intentions the instant they appeared to it to be more realistic than those of the existing ideological system. Lastly, the ideologists of "national reconciliation" do not lose sight of the declassé elements of the people, primarily the lumpenproletariat, which live on the fringes of the working class, peasantry, and middle classes and have played an executive role in nationalist uprisings.

Lajos Zilahi wrote in "Purpurni vijek" [The Purple Age] that "every change in history has begun with two or three people whispering to each other." This is just what the ideologists of "national reconciliation" do: their whispering is already to be heard on speakers' platforms and in corridors. Perceiving that they have not yet become the material force they would like to represent, they are trying to infiltrate self-management institutions, above all cultural ones, and to obstruct the idea of communist commitment with all available resources. They are against politics in culture only until they impose their own concept. There would then begin an intellectual terror such as we experienced at the beginning of the 1970's and such as they want to renew today by advocating history written by the vanquished. They are quite often aided by the fact that the routinized ideological conscience in the SKJ has deadened many intellects and initiatives and that there is a delayed reaction to comments by "national reconciliation" ideologists, there being the impression that the reaction is couched in institutionalized clichés rather than in words born of inner conviction.

#### Unbounded Hate

The conception has not yet vanished from the SKJ that it is enough to have a dominating ideology (marxism), so that one can rest secure in the conviction that there is no need to fight for it, or if it must be done it can be accomplished by nonchalantly pressing buttons on a control panel that carries out automatic aiming. This "technology of ideological work" (the clumsy phrase often found in official materials) forgets that the "intellectual counter-revolution" is the least intimidated by routine, that it acts zealously and fanatically, and that it is willing to beat and choke, but also to make sacrifices. It forgets that its ability to form associations and to organize

recognizes no republic or province frontiers, that it also has intellectual suicides within its ranks, that its hatred of communism is a "boundless sea," and that because of all this it attacks when on the offensive with a passion rare in history, ready to sweep away anything in its path that does not agree with its plans.

Its advocates do not demand fees for public appearances or for publishing printed materials, nor travel expenses for official trips. They launch attacks on speakers' platforms; behind their polite, civil faces lurk faces distorted by hatred and rage. And we think that all this can be resolved by means of a newspaper article, by a review couched in official language, or by waiting until "book answers book" from some quarter or other, like a deus ex machina of antiquity (months, even years, pass in such waiting, and in the interim the "intellectual counterrevolution" irreversibly captures another position). Our talk of "unity of ideology and action" is answered by the raucous laughter of the "intellectual counterrevolutionaries" on speakers' platforms and in corridors and clubs. Experience has taught them that nothing, or very little, often comes of such talk. The same hypocritical laughter accompanies their talk about "liberals" in the SKJ: these good-natured persons should be fully exploited and their masochistic smugness should be applauded when they construe "democratization" as meaning the possibility of gradual legalization of the "counterrevolution"; later on, say the "counter-revolutionaries," we'll see what needs to be done.

I agree with Dr Stipa Suvar that we can no longer avoid discussion of our "intellectual counterrevolution." If it in advance declares every effort by the SKJ in this direction to be stalinism and zhdanovism, we must not pick up and carry the burden with which the bourgeois and unitarist reaction has always tried to weigh down communist conscience and ideology.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Matija Beckovic says that "the civil war is a central event in our history and our fortunes. We seem to have done most of our fighting with each other and are still doing so. A half-century will soon have passed since the Second World War, and we are still living in the trenches and ditches rather than covering the blood and wounds" (quoted from POLET, Zagreb, No 296, 18 Jan 85, p 7).
2. Ljubomir Tadjic says that "Yugoslav ideology long ago pasted many labels on various enemies or alleged enemies. The fascist conquerors and their domestic abettors, with whom the Yugoslav political revolution settled scores with guns in hand, were followed in turn by the adherents of the Informburo, with whom scores were settled by a variety of solutions. They were followed by the Djilasites, Maspokovacites, and other nationalists... But another note must be immediately added to this one. The constant presence of enemies in the Yugoslav political and cultural sphere is in my opinion an indication of the continuing civil war waged by Yugoslav society in a permanent state of emergency. And this

abnormality of social life which has persisted for 40 years is now being transformed into pathological normality and a kind of customary situation" (quoted from POLET, No 296, p 8).

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YUGOSLAVIA

AZEM VLLASI INTERVIEWED ON KOSOVO PROBLEMS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 85 pp 10-13

[Interview with Azem Vllasi, president of the Pristina LCY Opstina Committee, and member of the Presidency of the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee, by Zorica Nikolic and Nino Kopac]

[Text] Azem Vllasi talks about the buying and selling of land and the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, about Albanian irredentism and extensive enemy activity in the province, about the romantic post-war rapture and the present-day lack of enthusiasm, about relationships between republics and provinces and about changes which must be made.

The interview with Azem Vllasi, president of the Pristina LCY Opstina Committee and member of the Presidency of the Kosovo LCY Provincial Committee, recently conducted by DANAS reporters Zorica Nikolic and Nino Kopac, began on the topic of the rapid and dynamic development of the province's major city and its many problems. Pristina has an unfavorable economic structure, with a highly-developed basic industry, the largest part of which is made up of energy and raw materials potential. In order to exploit this potential, large amounts of investment are needed, but relatively few jobs are created per unit of investment. Over 14,000 people are looking for a job in Pristina today, mostly young people. Therefore, the first question referred to higher education.

[Question] Don't you have too many people with degrees compared to actual employment opportunities?

[Answer] We have had a large expansion of education, especially of college education, during the last 15 years. Kosovo has begun a period which was supposed to introduce and provide for multi-lateral development and progress in all areas of social life. And in order to do this cadres were necessary. That is why we consciously intensified the development of higher education. For a short period of time our university was among the ranks of the country's largest, with the greatest number of students. This orientation was good in principle because the potential was created for rapidly training cadres necessary to Kosovo. However, there were mistakes and failures in this endeavor as well, the results of which we are experiencing now. The first big mistake was that we went for quantity without

putting enough emphasis on quality. The second one was that we liberalized policies of study program admission too much and did not adequately take into account the actual needs of society--that is, we directed too few students into those departments which prepare professional cadre for the exact sciences and thus for production and the needs of production. So for years we had most of our students in departments with social and humanitarian study programs and that is why we have a number of them unemployed. Kosovo does not really still have a surplus of college-trained cadres, but the problem is that some people persist in choosing to live and work only in Pristina. But in the last two or three years study enrollment policies have changed, so that the proportion of students is now 30 to 70 in favor of technical studies.

[Question] Do you think that you have exhausted all the possibilities for developing agriculture, especially those in the individual sector?

[Answer] No, not by a long shot. Great harm has been done because we have not been able to free ourselves of the idea that agriculture is a synonym for misfortune and poverty (which it has been) either in the system of agricultural planning or in the ideological plan, and from the "euphoria of industrialization" which took hold of us when we thought that we had completely, permanently, solved the problem of orientation towards industrial development.

Our best chance is in the complementary development of public and individual agricultural sectors, in using planning measures to stimulate agricultural modernization in the individual sector which has the largest percentage of land area. By using water from the Ibar Hydrosystem, it will be possible to irrigate approximately 7,000 hectares of fertile soil. This will undoubtedly have an important effect on increasing yields, and the hill-and-mountain region of the Pristina opstina has great potential for the development of the cattle-breeding industry. These potentials must be realized.

[Question] Why is the price of land so high, and who is really buying it? What are the motives involved in the buying and selling of land?

[Answer] It is generally known that Kosovo is the most densely populated area in our country and one of the most populated in Europe. Large families are buying the land for the most part, they are also living off of it, and there are many such families in this area. Those who spent a long time temporarily employed abroad are also buying; a major reason for their going away was to earn and save money so that they could buy real estate. It is really these people who have contributed the most to the rapid increase in land prices. People seem to think that real estate is the safest thing to invest in because they feel that it won't be threatened by inflation, or by other kinds of economic crises.

[Question] In connection with the buying and selling of land, to what extent can one talk about use of pressure in relation to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo?

[Answer] If the sellers are mostly Serbs and Montenegrins who leave for other areas outside of Kosovo after the sale, and if the buyers are mostly Albanians--and this is mostly frequently the case--then one might say that such a sale has a tendency to be associated with the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins.

To what extent there are deliberate motives involved in these cases in order to make as many Serbs and Montenegrins as possible emigrate is difficult to determine because the sales transaction is carried out by two sides, and each side is acting in their own interests. Indeed, there are individuals who, when they have a chance, eagerly go after land, and would move their own brother off his land to enlarge their property so that they can have as much as possible.

Buying and selling of land in Kosovo has been recently placed within the context of the existing political situation in various ways, as well as--often controversially--within the context of the activities of Albanian nationalists and irredentists. On one occasion a demand was made to annul sales agreements which were signed under pressure when some people (they were referring to certain Serbs and Montenegrins) "sold land at extraordinarily low prices," although it is common knowledge that the Criminal Statutes of the SFRY proclaim agreements signed under abnormal circumstances to be void. On another occasion they ask the question--where did they get so much money to pay such a high price? As far as I know, no one has appeared as an injured party up to now with the demand to annul a sale agreement. I don't know everything that's going on and that's why I think that each case has to be analyzed objectively and in detail, because only in this way can we come to the right conclusion.

[Question] Judging by information about repeated forms of the manifestation of enemy activity, one might be able to speak of extensive enemy activity which has even aggravated our political situation. How should we organize ourselves for complete stabilization?

[Answer] Albanian nationalism took root here a long time ago. It has acquired positions and created the space for frequent activity. In their behavior and activity, certain forces in the Kosovo LCY, especially in its leadership, have helped to obscure the line of demarcation between ideological positions and the goals of nationalist forces and the orientation of the LCY for the free and equal affirmation of Albanians.

On the waves of this existing political situation and climate, extremist forces of Albanian nationalism and irredentism appeared; they joined together and operated in an organized manner. They became increasingly bolder in evaluating that the situation had become favorable for them to engage in decisive ventures to implement counterrevolutionary goals. They figured that the most favorable time was 1981, approximately a year after the death of Comrade Tito, when we were gradually leaving behind the wrenching pain of his death, but while we were still sleeping peacefully with our bureaucratically fashioned appraisals of the "stable" political situation here. Militant nationalist and irredentist forces had already succeeded

before this time in establishing and reinforcing connections and ties with outside elements who had been waiting for precisely the time after Tito's death to plunge the knife into our backs. Their major support was the governing apparatus of the National Socialist Republic of Albania, with its whole arsenal at their disposal.

So, with significant hopes of success, they sprang into action with their potentially brutal and destructive means and methods. When we decisively opposed them and defeated their assault units they were not easily reconciled with their defeat. An extraordinarily difficult, critical situation set in, and later we had to make more profound efforts in cleaning out the ideological positions of these forces and their inspirators. Their outside allies intensified the pressure even more, and they continue to do so.

We have a much more stable and orderly situation today, but the remnants of the enemy forces and their newly recruited individuals and groups have not refrained from action. They are being intensively incited and supported from abroad. Objectively, our internal problems work to their favor. There is still opportunism and hesitation, still indecisiveness in explaining in a more energetic manner the essence of the ideological positions and goals of Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

[Question] Albanian nationalism was controlled, but not overcome. How dangerous is it today?

[Answer] The organized units have been controlled and removed from the public scene as much as possible. The new political climate in Kosovo does not make it easy for them to dare to be more open. It is very important that we have created the awareness and the conviction, in contrast to the 1981 period, not to allow ourselves to underestimate the danger of nationalism. We dare not be lulled asleep for even a moment thinking that everything is now all right. It is most essential, now and in the future, that we wage war against the ideological positions of Albanian nationalism, as well as against all other forms of nationalism, with ceaseless activity in the broader social plan, that we eliminate the causes and the conditions, which are objectively or directly continuing to stir up nationalism, by implementing the goals and policies of the LCY.

[Question] Enemy activity began at the University, but subsequent opportunism has hindered the activity of the LCY in ideological-political differentiation to a considerable extent. What is the situation like now at the University?

[Answer] The situation at the university today has improved, is more stable and more orderly. Many misconceptions and ideological deviations have been eliminated. The forces and the individuals which helped in a number of ways to bring about the circumstances preceding the events of 1981 have been removed from influential positions. However, there is still opportunism, and it is, I would say, of the typically artisan, petit bourgeois-intellectual type. There are also still certain nationalistic obstructions and misconceptions. There are also those who would like to

continue to find refuge for the perfidious, but persistent, placement of their ideas and theses right in the University, allegedly in the name of science and truth, but with the obvious intention of systematically infecting the ideology of young people who are unfamiliar with the policies of the LCY and self-management.

[Question] Can one assume that the irredentists are not as well educated as members of the LCY?

[Answer] It would seem that they are more fanatical, that they behave more blindly in their activities and in their struggle for their goals. I find something somewhat akin to religious fanaticism in their behavior. Thus, when one analyzes the ideological positions of the irredentists more carefully, one can clearly see that they are involved with certain ideas which have a 19th-century, nationalistic-romantic nature. It is as if nothing has changed for them. It is as if the national-liberation character of our revolution, the War of National Liberation, and the working class orientation of our social self-management system does not exist for them. Appealing to people by using national sentiments, they attempt to show through their propaganda that the position of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is difficult and unbearable. They offer Albanians exclusiveness and happiness within nationally pure borders, and all this under conditions which are quite absurd in the 20th century, as they are in Albania. They are oriented towards destruction, and what they would build afterwards is another question. Their "new construction" would probably appear to be worse than the terrible ruins.

[Question] Why is there not more enthusiasm--"fanaticism"--among LCY members in the struggle for our goals?

[Answer] It is honorable to be a member of the LCY and to struggle for its goals, but it is difficult. Immediately after the war, this revolutionary, romantic ardor and enthusiasm carried us. However, it is understandable that this kind of general mood cannot last forever. It is wrong that we have created, perhaps even unconsciously, the concept of socialist as a society without conflict, a society of prosperity, and that now we are amazed because everything did not go the way we would have wanted it to go. It is true that we have to develop more enthusiasm, but not by using slogans and promises, because our system is not "parade socialism." Of course, this enthusiasm will be greater if we are creating conditions in which people are compensated according to their labor, if we are struggling every day to strengthen self-management and democratic relations which will allow a person to feel a special security and to live in accordance with the results of his learning, labor, and involvement, if we are eliminating the many negative phenomena which oftentimes severely demoralize people.

[Question] Isn't this sort of situation a reason for excluding a certain number of members from the LCY, because party work is not measured in numbers, but by the work and activity of members?

[Answer] Everyone always says this, but it is a slow and difficult process to free ourselves of that which really has no place in the LCY. The

predominating practice is still the one in which a person is excluded from the LCY only because he has severely violated statutory norms of the LCY, if he has committed some offense, or openly acted against the system and the policies of the LCY. I don't know if someone has been excluded from the LCY because he did not perform his duties at his job, or because he was eternally silent at party meetings, content "not to bother anyone." In Kosovo, we excluded some individuals from the LCY because of opportunism, and there was great astonishment--where did this come from, what is it? Of course, I don't think that with the present conditions we can have the kind of LCY with regard to discipline, to internal organization and relationships which would compare to the way the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was, which in 1941, for example, had 12,000 members. These are different times and essentially different social conditions. Today we have over 2,300,000 members in the LCY, which makes it a massive party, but it is still the leading ideological and political force in society. And it is quite understandable that we are living in a more relaxed manner, more comfortably, without those elements of iron discipline. Nevertheless, we have become too relaxed, we underestimate the question of responsibility too much, and a considerable number of LCY members, in their level of responsibility and social-political involvement, are no different in any respect from those outside the party.

[Question] What methods of operation is the enemy now using, and what do his calls for solidarity with "all honorable people," regardless of faith and membership, mean?

[Answer] Albanian nationalists and irredentists here in Kosovo are trying to depict themselves as the "real," the "authentic," fighters for the national rights of Albanians. We who are fighting for the policies of the LCY, for brotherhood, unity, and the equality of nations and nationalities under conditions of socialist self-management and the authority of the working class, for the preservation of the fundamental values of the Yugoslav community, are considered to be traitors, souls who have sold out, careerists. In other words, they try to present us as the monsters of our people. Anyone who opposes our policies and our ideology is fine to them. They see that they can no longer have any kind of influence on people with naked nationalistic and irredentist theses and slogans, so they accuse us head-on and attack us for everything negative in society, "proving" that this social system of ours is, in fact, "a failure."

[Question] Discussions on relationships in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the position of the province in the republic are topical. In this regard, there is talk of endangerment and the impossibility of the republic implementing its authority throughout its territory because of the fact that the "provinces have too many rights."

[Answer] Politically, it is completely unacceptable to state the thesis that someone is threatened because someone else has more rights. As people, as nations and nationalities, and even as republics and provinces, we are free to the extent that we are equal and to the extent that we nurture the spirit of full democratic tolerance, cooperation, and unity in mutual relationships.

It is in the interest of both the provinces and the territory of Serbia outside of them that cooperative relationships in the Socialist Republic of Serbia be better and more developed. They must be based on constitutional resolutions. Therefore, everyone together is obliged and responsible to carry out fully the constitutional position of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but at the same time to respect completely and consistently the constitutional position of the provinces as well.

[Question] Recently, one has increasingly heard stories about changes in the political system, about relationships in the federation and relationships between the republics and provinces.

Some are hoping that these changes will come about at the LCY congress. Might there be changes in which provinces would have more, or less, rights than previously?

[Answer] Due to the nature of its internal relationships, the goals for which we are struggling, and because of realistic needs for further development, our society is, in fact, one which is constantly changing. During the entire period of socialist construction in our country, from the time immediately following the Second Meeting of the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia, we have continually been in the process of changing the practice, the conduct, and the normative solutions with which we have formed our reality and our vision. It would therefore be a mistake to think that one person is for changes and another is against them. The basic question in each phase in which we are deciding on changes to be made has been and must continue to be--what kinds of changes are to be made and what is the purpose of these changes. But instead of this, we have created an unfavorable climate with regard to making changes. Some talk only of making changes and as their main argument for the changes cite the fact that we are confronted with numerous problems. But they do not say what really has to be changed and why. Along this line, those forces which support changes in the sense of going backwards are often compelling. These are forces which have never really agreed with the changes we have made previously regarding the further advancement of our practice of socialist development.

If we need some changes at this time, and I think we do, then above all we need changes in the manner of conduct, in the strengthening of responsibility for implementation of agreed-upon policy, in making more specific the struggle against various bureaucratic-etatist and authoritative forces and tendencies which persistently burden the working class and persistently mourn its difficult situation.

Changes are also needed in normative regulations to insure the more efficient operation of systems and relations.

If all of us together in Yugoslavia feel that constitutional changes have to be made, then we will make them, but beforehand we must know our point of departure and our intention for making these changes. In addition, we must

not allow the elemental creation of some frantic climate in which there are those who are "for" or "against" changes, and we must certainly not allow it to reach the extent exhibited today by those who come forward in an increasingly vocal manner from positions which are not in accordance with the policies of the LCY.

Also inadmissible is any demand for changes which would take us backwards, changes which mean encroaching on the self-management position of associated labor and the working class, on the equality of nations and nationalities, on the present-day constitutional position of republics and provinces, and on relationships of equality in the federation. All the changes we make must further the value and the heritage of socialist self-management.

[Question] Have Albanian irredentists also sought constitutional changes?

[Answer] They have already sought changes in the form of open counterrevolution. Some of their favorite slogans are: "The Constitution--by hook or by crook;" "Kosovo--a republic, by hook or by crook." This means that they do not recognize our constitutional order, and that in one phase of development they want a constitution which will temporarily sanction a transitional stage ("Kosovo--a republic within Yugoslavia") so that in the next phase they can create the conditions for the "fait accompli" for the implementation of their ultimate goals--the secession of Kosovo and other parts of our country inhabited by Albanians, and the annexation of these areas to the National Socialist Republic of Albania. As far as methods are concerned, they openly advocate violence.

[Question] Why do we sometimes hear the opinion that there is actually no real difference between a republic and a province?

[Answer] This is an ill-intentioned and biased simplification of things, and in back of it is an attempt to show that provinces "have obtained too much power," and that this is pretty much the fundamental cause of some problems and misunderstandings in relationships within the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is common knowledge that the Constitution defines republics and provinces through the prism of an etatist consciousness and with this as a handicap, because we look for practical solutions on this basis and with these handicaps. When in the course of our examining and looking for practical solutions in order to advance our practical work we finally proceed from classical self-management determinations, from the interests of associated labor and the working class--that is, when we have examined the republic as a self-management, democratic, social-political and state community, and the province as a self-management, democratic, social-political community in the entirety of constitutional determinations--then there will certainly be fewer problems and disagreements.

Just as it would be unacceptable for the provinces to interpret their own constitutional rights extensively and too broadly, to retard or hinder the processes of strengthening cooperation and unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia within established constitutional resolutions, it would

also be unacceptable to accuse the provinces continually of hindering the strengthening of cooperation, and to belittle what has been positively resolved up to now in the development of cooperative relationship in the republic. Also inadmissible are certain insinuations that the Socialist Republic of Serbia sometimes finds itself in an unequal position with other republics in the agreement process in the federation because of problems with the provinces.

The specific nature of the Socialist Republic of Serbia in relation to other republics is that it has two provinces in its structure, and this is a socially historical and political reality which must be acknowledged.

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YUGOSLAVIA

NAJDAN PASIC DISCUSSES 'NEW RIGHTISTS'

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 4 Mar 85 p 10

[Article by Najdan Pasic: "The Ideology of the New Right"]

[Text] The most recent issue of IDEJE, a journal for the theory of contemporary society, is devoted to two discussions held in centers for Marxism of the central committees of Slovenia and Serbia concerning the New Right, and it is from there that we are presenting this article.

The discussion about the New Right (about neoliberalism and neoconservatism) is truly welcome, since at least for a moment it takes us away from our rigid ideas and stereotypes in viewing contemporary ideological developments, trends and divisions, both in the world at large and in our own country.

It is very important that the foreign view of things not delude us in looking at the true essence of the neoright, neoliberalism, neoconservatism and certain similar currents and ideological and political orientations. In that respect the introductory addresses, both delivered orally and written, have done a good job of tracing out the pathways for our discussion today.

Actually in the conservative ideology of neoliberalism there is in essence very little that is liberal in the classical and original sense of the word, that liberalism from the times of its great historical rise.

And the ideology of neoconservatism, just like other ideologies, seeks help in making its pitch from the old symbols, old historical trappings and banners, attempting to place them at its service. Even Marx wrote about this ideological "camouflage."

However, an analysis of the practice of these movements and of those organizations which are guided by neoliberalistic and neoconservative ideology shows that in essence we are not dealing with any sort of rebirth of the old relations, old values and conceptions, since in essence that is not even possible. It is much more a question of a kind of ideological manipulation and mystification.

## Neoconservative Ideology

Look at the policy of those movements or organizations, governments and politicians which are guided by neoliberal ideology and phraseology. Is it really a question of restoring laissez faire in the economy of the highly advanced capitalist countries? No one who has any familiarity with the actual economic developments and mechanisms which prevail there even today would suppose that there can be any question of that.

Is it really a question of restoring to the trade union the role which it once had as a relatively independent advocate of the interests of the workers? Not a bit of it! On the contrary, rather it is an attempt to thrust the trade union into the mechanisms for regulating the relations which were established by the prevailing water.

Is it a question of returning the state to the role of a "night watchman," an organization which in principle does not interfere in the flows of expanded reproduction based on the free operation of private capital? There is no question even of that. On the contrary, it is a question of tendencies toward strengthening the government in all its repressive functions, it is just that the line of its action is changing: the state is becoming more openly involved on the side of capital, its repressive force is being directed more openly against the workers, be they organized or unorganized. This threatens everything that the working class has won in previous historical periods as a lasting achievement in the sense of correcting its overall social position.

I think those people are right who discover in the ideology and practice of the New Right the elements of neocorporativism, or corporatism, as people often say today in order to make a distinction from the ideology and political practice of Italian fascism. It is essentially a question of ideological justification of an effort to preserve the status quo, and that by standing in the way of an essential resolution of the basic contradictions of the existing production relations. The forceful advancement of new forms of institutionalization of social conflicts is the most frequently used method of achieving this. The terrain of conventional parliamentarianism and even that level of free expression of the workers and confrontation of opposing interests which was characteristic of parliamentary political-representative democracy based on party pluralism as the main mechanism for "free" articulation and aggregation of interests are being abandoned more or less openly to that end. That is why parliaments, congresses or other supreme representative bodies are actually being pushed aside more and more, since they have been giving too much freedom of expression for the class essence of conflicts of interest at the macrosocial level. Extraparliamentary mechanisms are developing and becoming institutionalized for "conciliation" of conflicts of interest under the conductor's baton of the bureaucratic apparatus of the state. "Partnerships" are being established in a triangle or rectangle consisting of the government, the enterprise (read "private capital"), the labor unions and "organized" science (knowledge placed at the service of technocratic goals). The government takes upon itself the institutionalization of so-called "functional interests" and imposes the obligatory framework for their mutual reconciliation. It is no wonder that the creator of German economic and political neoliberalism (the

creator of the German "economic miracle"), the conservative Erhard, was at the same time a great advocate of building elements of corporatism into German society as well, of creating a "ordered society" in which all participants in the process of reconciliation of interests recognized by the state would have their roles and range of activity prescribed in advance.

The ideology of the New Right and neoliberalism has also been making definite inroads in its various versions in our own country. The noticeable ideological disorientation caused by the economic and other difficulties is creating favorable conditions for ideological influences of that kind. That is why a discussion of the essence of the ideology of the New Right is very relevant, especially when we bear in mind the "domestic" versions of conservative ideology which have already been manifested and whose roots lie in the unresolved contradictions of our self-management development.

### Self-Management and Revolution

Neoconservative ideology in our country most often takes the shape of institutional fetishism, i.e., it takes the form of an attempt to fetishize specific institutional solutions and prevent further revolutionary transformation in society in the name of defending what has already been achieved in the direction of the development of self-management. Those forces which have a privileged social position, above all the professional managers of the structure, are accepting and supporting the bureaucratic ideology of the status quo, which represents defense of the status quo as a defense of self-management.

The assertion can be made (it, of course, requires critical examination) that we have gone too far in government organization of "functional interests." Self-management has brought about an authentic revolution with respect to the possibility of free articulation of varying interests related to associated labor and man's self-managing position in society. The system of party-state monolithism and centralism of the federal government machinery are gradually giving way to a more detailed and decentralized system of self-managing pluralism of interests. However, this is a very contradictory process in which various forms of transformed "decentralized" statism are cropping up and taking strong positions. The self-management pathways of direct democratic linkage and synthesis of interests have in practice often been displaced and "replaced" by paragovernmental institutions and externally by imposed mechanisms for articulation of various "recognized" institutionalized interests. This is justified, of course, in terms of the weakness of associated labor itself, which is supposedly not able to organize itself in conformity with self-management on its own in order to protect and realize its interests on the broader plane of society and especially in relations between the sphere of physical production and the social services or in the sphere of expanded reproduction, where there is a need to ensure economically optimum allocation of social capital. In such situations, real or imagined, those who actually have the power, the political authorities which are still independent (the government-party bureaucracy) "come to the aid" of associated labor, using the normative power of the state to create quasi-self-management institutions which are supposed to replace the authentic organizational forms of self-management. But such forms of government organization and regulation of the pluralism of interests in

self-management do not strengthen the real position of associated labor, but they rather strengthen its dependence upon the center of political power, upon the state.

#### Conclusion of Self-Management Agreements

On this basis and under that ideological wrapper certain revolutionary concepts of the self-management organization of society are being deformed; we might take as a typical example of this the self-managing communities of interest--the conception of them in the constitution and what is happening in practice. Instead of being a method of free and politically unmediated confrontation and linkage of interests and of their democratic synthesis, the self-managing communities of interest remain molds which are imposed by government laws and which fetter the free expression and aggregation of interests in self-management, so that even this entity, whose direct interests have been institutionalized and thus given formal protection, becomes a captive of the institutions which are supposed to protect it, that is, which are supposed to ensure realization of its interests in the manner prescribed in advance.

Something similar is taking place with the concept of concluding self-management accords and social compacts. Instead of being a form and manner of overcoming the conventional government-legal regulation of social relations, the self-management accords and social compacts are being used to exclude the operation of objective economic laws. Under present sociohistorical conditions, when commodity-money relations and the market represent an objective law, this kind of "exclusion" of the law of value in the economy merely strengthens the tutelage of the managerial strata over associated labor. In his analysis of the objective contradictions in the sphere of production relations in our society, which is perhaps the most profound one, Comrade Kardelj in a book entitled "Protivrečnosti društvene svojine u savremenoj socijalističkoj praksi" [The Contradictions of Social Ownership in Contemporary Socialist Practice] points out that the liberation of associated labor cannot be accomplished by liquidating objective economic laws and by replacing them with accords and compacts which ignore those laws, since this would only accentuate the arbitrary power of the bureaucracy over associated labor.

The extensive institutional and normative "protection" of the interests of associated labor, of the working class, of the working people and citizens signifies a de facto strengthening of the independence of associated labor and of the working people organized through self-management upon centers of political decisionmaking. It is from that social foundation that a kind of "self-management version" of the ideology of bureaucratic conservatism has grown up.

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YUGOSLAVIA

ATMOSPHERE AT FORUM ON SLOVENE CULTURE EVOKED

Summary of Discussion

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 85 pp 32-33

[Article by Aleksandra Plavevski]

[Text] Why, at a forum on the Slovene nation and Slovene culture, organized by the Society of Slovene Writers, did its president Tone Partljic warn that "cultural policy is not comprised solely of the extent to which cultural workers dare to attack the politicians"?

The Society of Slovene Writers organized and lengthily prepared a public forum on the subject: The Slovene Nation and Slovene Culture. Such meetings have already become a tradition for the Society, and Ljubljana's DELO comments on this practice: "We still remember the echos of the public forum on joint cores in our educational curricula, where our writers resisted tendencies to uniformity, tendencies that are a stumbling block to the precious AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of Yugoslavia] spirit of our community, a spirit founded precisely on the wealth and promotion of differences."

The number of people interested in this forum, which was announced without fanfare, exceeded all expectations. It is difficult to estimate the exact number of people who attended, but on the second evening a figure of 2,000 was mentioned. All this only serves to verify the current interest in the subjects selected, and, by the way, cultural problems will also be debated at a meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia scheduled for this coming May. The public debate has already commenced, and the written material for this meeting, among other things, says: "Marxist criticism and controversy must first of all focus on the most essential, vital, ideologically and politically central issues (instead of losing time and energy combating fabricated problems or obsolete predicaments, frequently against fictitious opponents)."

The forum was convened by Tone Partljic, president of the Society of Slovene Writers, who denied at the very start accusations he had heard, he says, during his term of office, that the Society wants to have some sort of partnership with political organizations.

"The explicit views we are about to hear will be contradictory, varied, optimistic and pessimistic, nihilistic, emotional and nationalist, but our duty will be fulfilled by even just offering a broad range of writers the opportunity to publicly air their opinions" - stressed Partljic, refusing to accept the statement made by Bojan Stih that the Slovenes have no cultural policy. Partljic said that a stop must be put to the idea that cultural policy is comprised solely of the extent to which cultural workers dare to attack the politicians.

Partljic spoke of the interview held by Ljubljana's DELO with Dr Stipe Suvar, inquiring as to whether the intention of this article was to initiate controversial ideas that would "expose the quasi-Marxism of Comrade Suvar and his hatred of the intelligentsia." Supporting closer ties with the writers of the other [Yugoslav] nations, Partljic addressed the problem of "endangerment," i.e., "There are some who are saying that the Slovene nation is being endangered. We also feel endangered within the state [country] because of irresponsible statements being made about some kind of Yugoslav nation and uniform school curricula and joint core programs... We frequently fall prey to the provocations of people from other parts of the country and interpret them as being a kind of general campaign of persecution against the Slovenes."

Believing that the Society of Slovene writers must attend the Congress of Yugoslav Writers in the same numbers as the other Societies [republic and provincial] (about 30 delegates), Tone Partljic stressed that this meeting is expected to result in a success of joint efforts, but also that discussion will be raised on issues "which others are not used to talking about."

#### Settling of Accounts

"It is entirely clear," said Partljic, "that we will not give an inch in the demand to have our new state of Yugoslavia enable our [Slovene] nation, organized for the first time as a unit in the free Republic of Slovenia, to have the greatest possible opportunity for advancement, to tell us clearly how much we are contributing economically as well to brotherhood and unity, and how much - ultimately - we are receiving from it because, as the most highly developed [republic], we are indeed receiving. Any other kind of attitude would place us in an inferior position. Settled accounts make for good friends..."

In mentioning the observation made by Mitja Ribicic that writers are happier to deal with banned subjects than with creative work, Partljic states that literary people should be recognized for having addressed themselves, in their own fashion, to such subjects as Goli Otok [an island prison to which Yugoslav Cominform supporters were sentenced], the Dachau Process, the massacre of Domobrani [Slovene collaborationist movement] on [the mountain of] Rog. The thirst for truth is a never-ending one, and people do want answers. Therefore, said Partljic, we should express our appreciation to Torkar, Hofman, Zupan and Kocbek rather than put them on the blacklist in "the notorious 'White Book'" that was "championed by none other than Stipe Suvar himself."

Partljic said that he rightfully expects the politicians to finally and publicly disassociate themselves from such attempts to avoid recognizing intellectuals and writers. He also expressed concern about the banning of certain books in other republics, something that could become a regular practice, and anxiety over the campaign against intellectuals and the unconvincingness of certain arguments used in the charges [against the intellectuals]. He has come out for a loud and clear expression of views, an end to whispering, provided every individual takes full responsibility for any statements issued to the public.

This was how the forum began. Diverse and frequently very extreme views were expressed on cultural policy and on what appeared to be the central issue - the survival of the Slovene nation. There have been panic-filled and pessimistic fears and forecasts that the Slovene nation is facing inevitable demise or, at very least, a dangerous threat (due to their own powerlessness, aggressive influence from without, and even an unequal legal status in the Yugoslav community), as well as opinions that such fear is nothing but run-of-the-mill national hypochondria and that the Slovene nation has, and has always had, sufficient strength to ensure a successful future.

Dimitrij Rupel spoke of the most recent information obtained from a questionnaire conducted on Slovene public opinion. According to this study, culture ranks among the lowest values, 46 percent of Slovenes did not read a single book during the year, but on the other hand Slovenes are keenly interested in "elementary," "biological" values. Rupel, too, "treated" the interview given by Dr Stipe Suvar to DELO, calling Suvar "a representative of the bureaucracy" and reiterating "Suvar's idea: We do not need a [kind of] development that would intellectualize the working class, rather we need a [kind of] development that would proletarianize the intellectuals."

"I think that the vision of a work camp is incompatible with the program of the Slovene nation, and that it is a threat to the Slovene nation and to Slovene culture," said Rupel. "If Slovenes are to be and remain a nation, we should be or become a modern nation, which means that we should also be ready for internal conflicts, even for those between culture and politics; a modern nation should not expect culture to be its handmaiden, that it should even challenge culture, express anger at it, oppose and even refute it. A modern nation is not a church choir where everyone sings in tune; it is an intricate creation with many of its own, independent laws that are subject to spiritual provinces. Culture being one of them."

Bojan Stih began his discussion by reading a section of an interview given by Dusan Popovic, Member of the Presidency of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina, to MADJAR SOU, in which Popovic equates the concept of a consolidated Slovenia with that of an Independent Croatia, a Greater Albania, a Greater Macedonia, and a Greater Serbia. Stih's demand for a public apology from Popovic was greeted by a round of applause from the overflowing hall. Any statism, said Stih, is always mononational.

Ales Debeljak also cautioned that "Slovenes are threatened by the logic of uniformity being practiced by the Yugoslav bureaucracy, and at the same time we belong less and less to the spiritual domain of Middle-European culture."

The Trieste writer Boris Pahor directed attention to the complicated status of the members of the Slovene national (ethnic) community in Italy, and in his opinion, some of the responsibility for this status belongs to the parent republic which, instead of helping, often hinders (?!). The future of the members of the Slovene national minority should not have to depend upon octets and choral groups.

#### National Hypochondria

Dr Matjaz Kmecl, president of the Republic Committee for Culture of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, said that whoever wants to survive must have faith. Public discussions on the density of one's own nation are surely welcome, but they also contain some ingredients of national hypochondria. This actually resembles a kind of alibi, for example, "everyone but us is guilty," and in dealing with such subjects, primary importance is attributed to history (we have heard here, said Kmecl, that old [slogan] "We don't want what's not ours - we don't have our own"), a serious lack of faith in ourselves has been demonstrated, and much mention is made of "our fate" and "we are a small nation."

There has been talk of the current state of the Slovene contribution to the Federation Budget, and we have heard comments - so unpleasant for us here in Slovenia - that the 'Serbs are guilt for it.' I refuse to agree with such statements: After all, we are traditionally close to the Serbian nation and I think that what was heard implies manipulation of national sentiments and friendships. I was personally insulted by the president of the Association of Serbian Writers, Miodrag Bulatovic by name, who called me an "aryanist," but this does not make me angry with the Serbian nation. We do, and will continue to, honor the Serbian nation and its great culture, but there is no nation and culture so great that we would fall on our knees before it," said Kmecl.

Dr Matjaz Kmecl went on to say that "we are not a nation of only academicians," and turned to the subject of "the Federation is guilty."

"We must reassess and distribute the obligations for joint tasks, and this is a thankless job. To be candid, accounts have not yet been settled here for quite some time, but they should not be resolved hysterically, with grievances about this corn or that earthquake, or for the developed - the underdeveloped." According to Dr Kmecl, the crucial issue is the conflict between the self-management and statist-centralist concepts, and the real problem lies in the fact that the Slovenes "are presently the smallest nation in Europe." "We are giving the lion's share of [our] capital formation to the underdeveloped -- enough even to put the Swedes to shame. And this," concluded Dr Kmecl, "is only proof of ability, proof that there is and should be faith in the future of the Slovene nation."

## The World of the Market

Igor Torkar sharply criticized that in our country we frequently hear "they," and he publicly asked when will we know - who "they" are? He also spoke of the "guardian pressures" (thinking of Dr Suvar), and of Suvar's vision of "the factory education of the nation, something for which he should be ashamed;" Torkar asked the audience to respond with a round of protest applause. The most dangerous thing for Slovene culture, said Torkar, is spiritual emigration.

Janez Menart bitterly commented on the Slovene delegates to the Federal Assembly, where high technology is available in abundance, for not speaking in the Slovene language. In failing to do this, thinks Menart, they are burying the Constitution and its AVNOJ spirit.

Josip Vidmar stressed that he has the reputation of being a "literary persecutor," but considers himself valuable only as a critic. In his opinion, there has recently been a great deal of unworthy scribbling in Slovene literature, and therefore writers must keep an eye on what is happening.

"Just like all other commodities, you writers, too, are going on the world market. And the demands of that market are well-known" - concluded Vidmar, expressing his approval to the organizers for holding this forum and to the public for its dedication to literature and Sloveneism, "which enthused, touched and overwhelmed me."

Spomenka Hribar spoke of ideological exclusivity, founded on the outdated identification of nation and class, as a cause of our present-day division and destruction. She said that "The nation is the class - the class is the nation" led to "The nation is the party - the party is the nation." She completed her address by quoting Lidiya Sentjurc on the close ties of the nation (Slovene) and the elimination of anything attempting to divide it.

Francek Rudolf expressed many satirical ideas "at his own expense," asking what kind of nation is it that makes one film a year and is the only one to watch it, what kind of shows are they that fabricate anemic singers; then he turned to Slovene cultural policy, which is "not intelligently but rather unintelligently established," [a policy] which supports the average but cultivates levelling.

"Yugoslavia is a community of nations in which each lacks culture, particularly the culture of export" - said Rudolf in concluding his address.

It was noticed, however, that certain distinguished figures among the Slovenian writers of the National Liberation War generation were missing.

Interview with Writers' President

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 85 pp 61-62

[Article by Milo Gligorijevic]

[Text] Why did both pessimists and optimists applaud in a discussion on the Slovene nation and Slovene culture held in Ljubljana's Cankar Memorial Home? Tone Partljic, president of the Society of Slovenian Writers, says: It was the openness of declaration that received the applause.

We should ask Tone Partljic of Maribor about his plays, especially the one presently being staged in six or seven theaters, among them Belgrade's Theater on Terazije, a comedy titled "My Father, the Socialist Kulak."

Tone's father, Franc Partljic, was a soldier of the Third Reich when Wehrmacht troops annexed (read: occupied) Stajerska. He fled from the swastika and became a soldier of the Red Army. A gentle fellow in terms of temperament, he was horror-stricken by the ravages of war and attempted to preserve his soul in a time of turmoil. After the war, he spoke like Schweik, that he didn't kill anyone, not under any uniform. He simply shot into the air.

"But" - says Tone Partljic - "my father, a man of the people, knew about King Peter Karadjordjevic II before the war. Afterwards, when he heard that there was no longer a king in Yugoslavia, that the head of the country was a former worker, a locksmith like himself, he was evidently proud. Seeing this as a good omen, he emphasized his old soldiering days in the Red Army. But in 1948, he no longer understood anything anymore, except that it had become unintelligent to mention that association [with the Red Army]."

What we should do is continue to record those statements that would explain the autobiographical drama "My Father, the Socialist Kulak." However, this conversation comes at a time when the reporter must see Tone Partljic first as an officer of a literary organization rather than as author of an acclaimed play. Why? Partljic, in his office as president of the Society of Slovene Writers, recently organized a debate on the Slovene nation and Slovene culture. Held in the Cankar Memorial Home before about 2,000 listeners, it concluded with the words of Bojan Stih:

"Culture is Freedom. This gathering will be remembered as a confirmation of the freedom of public assembly and thought, and fear of that would be a provincial, mediocre, "small stature" fear.

Under Question

At the end of this interview we will return to Partljic's writing in order to introduce into this story still another example of his father's peasant wisdom.

But now we must comment on the discussion described in the last issue of NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE (The Slovenes and (Their) Guardians) [Atmosphere at Forum on Slovene Culture Evoked - Summary of Discussion], an open debate that launched a number of volatile issues.

"During my two-year term of office, which is still ongoing, we have held three debates that have been open to the public. The first was called "Creating and Freedom," and it was organized on the occasion of the Djogo case. We were against destroying the book [Djogo's] and putting the author behind bars. We thought: It is enough to take the book off the stands if there is justification for this. And then I said it was not a question only of the freedom of Gojko Djogo because several writers were facing legal charges at that time."

Partljic added that he understands the need of a system to defend itself in this way, by trials and verdicts. But, he adds emphatically: "I am sorry that this is what a socialist system has to do." He knows that this same opinion is shared by some Slovene and Yugoslav politicians, but it is not good, he said, that this is not being spoken about publicly. "It is not good that today we have to search foreign resources to find the names of Slovene politicians who did not approve of the trial of Sesel and of the most recent trial of six [people] in Belgrade."

A second debate was held on the frequently-mentioned joint core program in the literature curriculum. Partljic says that the Slovenes were not clearly understood in that discussion in Yugoslavia. They assessed the creation of a joint core program as being an attack against their freedom, as being an attempt to curtail the opportunity for them, themselves, to say what they deem to be the epitome of culture in the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities. It is absurd to prescribe the percentage of Serbian, Croatian, Albanian or Rumanian literature the Slovenes should have in their curriculum. It is absurd to leave them insufficient time to study their own cultures.

The word "intrusion" was articulated frequently in this discussion. Believing that there has been enough intrusion into education, as well as error, Partljic places the entity of specialized education under a question mark. His question is: "Who dares to experiment with entire generations?"

"I think," Partljic says with conviction, "that there is sufficient proof of the failure of specialized education. When there is a sick child in the house, you go to the doctor immediately, you don't wait for the illness to take on dramatic proportions. If the school system is ill now, why would we wait, vacillate and make believe that we don't notice the illness?"

Is This the Solution?

In the third open discussion, the aforementioned debate on the Slovene nation and Slovene culture, many issues were raised -- said Partljic -- about which silence had reigned up to now. In that very debate he himself emphasized

that writers should be given credit for having written about Goli Otok, the Dachau Process, the massacre of the Domobrani on Rog, etc. Now in his interview with NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE, Partljic wants to dispel that concern which flees from the truth and justifies this flight by claiming a fear of alarming the public.

"It is stupid to say that our discussions alarm the public, which is already alarmed, but not because of theater plays, films and books. The public is alarmed because our standard of living has dropped, because there are more and more poverty-stricken, because we are deep in debt, because it seems that the party is not finding the best remedy for this crisis. I am afraid that all this uproar about books is to divert our attention from the main track to the side track of social events, and I have expressed this fear in a controversy with Stipe Suvar, who a priori denoted the intelligentsia as being elite and counterrevolutionary, even stating that culture and upbringing should be moved to the factories! Is this the remedy?! I do not understand Comrade Suvar, I find his statements to be harmful, but I do say: "It would not be good if some kind of a primitive campaign of persecution were to be launched against him today. Let Suvar think in his own way, but let the dialog be open and democratic, and then we will see who has how many supporters.

In mentioning that he and the other organizers of the discussion were not worried about the appearance of pessimists on the podium of Cankar Memorial Home, Partljic recalls the address given by Marjan Rozanc. Leaning slightly on Kundera's thesis, this writer stated that all the little nations of Middle Europe who see their future only in culture are becoming extinct, and that Eastern Europe with its political despotism and Western Europe with its imperialism are strong. According to Rozanc, death is followed by the future, and no one in the Slovene area, not even the party, can prevent the coming of this future.

This is definitely a gloomy and unsettling statement -- says Partljic -- but why shouldn't it be made in a democratic environment?

Asked how he explains the fact that in Cankar Memorial Home there was equally loud applause for both pessimists and optimists, that both were applauded by the same people, Partljic said that the applause was for neither pessimism nor optimism, but for openness. This must be understood, and it will be understood by everyone who thinks about occurrences and events.

Those who do not think continuously repeat the same shallow questions and stale answers. It is asserted, for example, that before the war the party knew how to gather the intelligentsia around itself, and that now it is rejecting them and producing enemies. Absurd! Partljic points out that the party was created by the intelligentsia, it was created by such brilliant representatives as Kardelj, Tomsic, Kidric...

## A Fresh Wind in Slovenia

The NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE reporter agrees here with Partljic but recalls that there was once an Edvard Kocbek, and that there were other intelligent representatives of the Christian Socialists. He proposes a discussion of the prewar, wartime and postwar fate of Edvard Kocbek.

Partljic thinks that such a discussion would not prove his statements wrong.

"The Communist Party is not God-given, and then taken to win over the intelligentsia. Kocbek is a great writer, a credit to literature. The fact that there are now people who are ready to consider the deceased Kocbek an enemy, well, that's another, long story about our quirks."

The president of the Society of Slovene Writers wants to say, simply, that the persecutors of the reputation of Kocbek, born persecutors, are not the party. He is convinced that a good wind is blowing in Slovenia thanks to the activities of an entire group of younger politicians and a few of the older ones. It has become clear to everyone that there can be no more whispering.

Following this statement about an end to whispering, Partljic said that we must talk about our delusions and faults. It must be made clear, finally, why it was necessary to begin postwar speeches with the words: Workers, Farmers and Honest Intelligentsia!

"Why was it necessary to distinguish between honest and dishonest only among the intelligentsia when it was common knowledge that many of our workers entered the factories of the Third Reich every morning? Now it is honor to His Highness the Proletariat, but, for God's sake, what am I, who works fifteen hours a day, if not a proletarian in culture?

Interrupting my question of whether it could happen again that some influential persons says that this is not the right time for a particular discussion, Partljic said that it is always the right time for the truth. If a society thinks differently, then its fate is a cause for concern. Now, writers have decided to publicly declare what they have been talking about in private for years. Spomenka Hribar asks what happened to the graves of the Beli Gardisti and Domobranci killed on Rog, and why has there been a 4-year long silence about that massacre? Boris Pahor has come to Ljubljana from Trieste to actually voice what he has been writing about for years in books and magazines: Our present politics did not best defend the interests of the Slovene minority in Italy. Pahor's books and articles, not all of which were accepted and approved of by Partljic, had been banned. Now he calmly speaks for himself, right in the middle of Ljubljana, in Cankar Memorial Home. And now he is being listened to calmly by people who disagree with him. That is progress.

## An Old Fear

"There was fear," said Partljic, "that a note of impatience would crop up in the discussion on the other [Yugoslav] nations in Cankar Memorial Home."

"I come from a place," he said, "where people make merry only when they are drunk. Now there are workers there from other parts of Yugoslavia who are noisy all the time. This, of course, causes certain problems: The natives, used to their own way of life, are making a fuss and complaining here and there. I understand both them and the newcomers. It is an important issue, the feelings of people who have cut themselves off, left their homes and families somewhere in Bosnia, for example, and come to live among the Slovenes, whose language they do not understand and whose way of life is unfamiliar to them."

Partljic believes that the day will come when those issues, too, will be able to be discussed in open dialog, without suppression and whitewashing of the facts. This belief, indeed, is founded again on the optimism created in Ljubljana after the open debate held by the writers.

It should not be thought now, however, that all writers, every last one of them, are a source of light. The overall actions of some of them show that they like being in the proximity of power. Others again, explains Partljic, are fiercely revolutionary.

"When someone has to go to the politicians to discuss certain affairs, it is like going to the president. And I go, too. And when I return and say that we came to an understanding, people look at me suspiciously, as though I had been won over."

In continuing to give an account of the personal strife he has experienced in his office as president, Partljic said that there are some who tenaciously and bitterly criticize him, saying that he is "under the influence of the writers around NOVA REVIJA [New Review]." Partljic says: "I don't always agree with those writers [in New Review], but I highly admire their work and effort. Their presence is everywhere, they speak out very frequently. And what happens is that the people who lack arguments for debate call them a group or a clique." Is this done, we ask, by the so-called literary mediocrity? "Not only the mediocrity," replies Partljic. "There are excellent writers who are resentful, always thinking that they are not acclaimed enough or celebrated enough, and the blame for this is put on Kermauner, Rupel, and others of NOVA REVIJA.. I truly fear that there are good writers who would be happy to witness the dissolution of this magazine."

The final questions: Will the forthcoming Congress of Yugoslav Writers provide an opportunity to launch radical ideas, to describe our spiritual climate, in a truth-loving manner? And what will be the posture of the representatives of Slovene writers at this Congress?

Partljic thinks that the Congress will be a good one if there is dialog, if the speakers are not backed by the authority of a delegation but rather by the authority of their personal reputations and intellectual honesty. The Slovenes are duty-bound to continue to exercise open, maximally open, expression.

This reporter did not forget the need to once again turn to Franc Partljic, Tone's father. The older Partljic went to the theater and with great trepidation watched the play "My Father, the Socialist Kulak." Afterwards, he was beaming and calm. But he cannot quell the anxiety he feels while watching another drama, one that is taking place on the stage of life. He keeps telling his son that the latter will have to pay dearly for his candidness.

"I accept recognition and awards for my work, and my father still tells me that silence is golden and that I'm going to end up in prison. This just goes to show how strong the belief is among the people that you will get into trouble for the truth." This was said with a smile by the president of the Society of Slovene Writers.

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YUGOSLAVIA

CONTRASTING VIEWS AIRED AT SERBIAN WRITERS MEETING

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 85 pp 25-26

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "A Protesting, But Tiring Imagination"]

[Text] At a conference on "Literary Creativity and Cultural Policy Today," held at the end of the week in Belgrade, one was able to hear relevant appraisals of our present situation in culture, although some unacceptable dispositions, demands, and visions also managed to sneak in and were openly presented.

"Literary Creativity and Cultural Policy Today" was the topic of a two-day conference held at the end of last week at the Serbian Writers' Association; the conference was attended by writers, professors, and journalists. The auditorium was too small to hold the well-mannered crowd of listeners who sat and stood shoulder to shoulder. They breathed and coughed with restraint, protested because of an unreliable PA system (they did not want to miss a single syllable uttered by the orators), and applauded generously. Recently, after some negotiations had been held in Geneva, that auditorium had been designated the one "most defended" by the power of the press. Some editorial offices had sent two reporters apiece, and the entire Novi Sad TV team kept taping without turning off spot-lights. The speaker's platform was strewn with microphone cables and covered with cassette recorders. The steamy atmosphere probably forced some speakers to fly off into flurries of rhetoric, and the big words were overblown compared to whatever provoked them.

It seems it was the three-month delay which caused all the agitated interest in the conference to build up. Thus, it took so much time to obtain money from the city's SIZ for Culture that there was more than enough to expand the gathering to include participants from all over Yugoslavia (although many of those invited did not respond for one reason or another). Problems began when someone at the city's SIZ found out from somewhere that this conference had to be the answer to the Zagreb conference held in May, at which time the book subsequently entitled "Bijela knjiga" [White Book] appeared.

## Banality of Disillusion

If we exclude overstatement resulting from anger, one was able to hear relevant appraisals of our present cultural situation at this meeting, although there were also quite unacceptable attitudes, demands, and visions far removed from reality which had been sneaked in. Attempts were made, based on unpleasant events which on no account are part of normal procedure, to give the impression that we are under the wheels of an Orwellian totalitarian utopian. There were also outpourings of a pathetic humanism which demonstrated a relationship between politics and creativity in quite abstract terms, with the ultimate conclusion that politics is always corrupt and creativity always pure and noble. But except for Laszlo Vegel, no one clearly and articulately, with the courage of self-criticism and retrospection, referred to nationalistic and hack-political phenomena in culture. By using the slogan "we are pure--you are corrupt," the use of the same logic is established as that being protested, and Nikola Milosevic found a fortunate term for such social behavior--tribalism.

The presence of certain mistakes--faulty transplantings and prunings in the cultural garden--can in no way be used as an excuse for being tolerant, according to the provocative stands of Matija Beckovic, in his search for "pardon for civil war graves." Much of the moralizing at this meeting lost its quasi-noble aura when it was allowed that Beckovic, quite foolishly and with a satanic smile, seeks pardon for Chetniks, ustashas, and other cutthroats. This is no longer an exercise of the right to disparate opinion, but the arrogant strut of the cockade. This provocation, and the provocative plea of Ljubomir Tadic that we have "to stop the civil war which has already lasted 40 years," were addressed only by Radivoj Cveticanin, who said that it seemed to him that this "might be a platform for a national gathering of forces--a platform whose end came about during the Second World War in a way with which we are familiar."

Near the beginning of the conference, Predrag Matvejevic and Nikola Milosevic threw out two concepts--partijnost [denotes the quality or state of being of the party] in culture and tribalism in social conduct, which have become recurrent themes connecting many declarations, and which have been used skillfully, though dishonestly. Thus, Matvejevic stated that "so-called partijnost, as a concept, or as a method, an intermediary between political and culture, has been abandoned, fortunately, during our post-war development, but nostalgia for it (at least for somewhat milder forms of partijnost) has frequently appeared, especially during periods of crisis. Nevertheless, it seems that although the adherents of this practice have not been very numerous in our political institutions, some of them have been rather vocal and influential. Regressions in this direction have been noticeable from time to time under various circumstances in our country--there are figures familiar to us who have supported and practiced them. As a rule, these people neglect the fact that the criteria of cultural policy and the criteria of culture itself (of literature, in particular), are not one and the same. They are more or less opposed by utopian or mythical ideas of culture itself (especially of literature) which renounce any right to political evaluation of cultural (literary) creativity."

Criticizing bureaucratic ruses, Matvejevic did not forget certain regressions which have also manifested themselves in this behavior, and he said: "In our country today there are many disillusioned people. As disillusionment spreads, it readily becomes banal--old and worn-out expressions (myths, rituals, ideologies) again become part of its language, and these are just as inhibiting to true creativity as the repetitive words of existing language and their self-justification. As opposed to alternatives which we do not find satisfactory, we must look for and discover new ones, support them and work on them. These are simultaneously questions of politics and culture, cultural politics."

### Magical Partnerships

Having inaugurated the concept of tribalism, Nikola Milosevic felt that it was suitable for all forms of narrow-minded groupings. Whenever the slogan "whoever is not with us is against us--choose!" is reinstated, whether by nationalists or by bureaucrats, it is indicative of an extreme example of tribalism, according to Milosevic. He is especially bothered by the form of tribalism which wants to present itself to us as Marxist cultural politics, although Marx was never a tribalist. This is because in speaking about the interests of the proletariat he never advocated partisan interests, but interests which involved the general emancipation of humanity.

Using techniques from social and individual psychology, Zoran Gluscevic attempted to describe the behavior of the tribalistic and clan-oriented groups. These groups experience their surroundings as being hostilely disposed towards them. They are connected to each other by some sort of magical participation, even though it appears minority groups are aggressive and well-organized.

But tribalistic projections like these were also present at the meeting of the Serbian Writers' Association. Especially the belief that our entire political structure, and all politicians, without exception, are apparitions about which only artists complain. Laszlo Vogel was opposed to this simplification and the pathos of intellectual mediating, because, he stressed, as "an individual I don't have enough courage to be above this world, and as a creator I have too many critical reprimands, against both the account of my own intellectual involvement, and the account of the involvement of all of us." He then commented that "we shrink a little from the risk which the future offers us. We have become humanists with a day-to-day political strategy, we radically experience everything which is given, but we are silent before the intellectual dimension of the future. We morally criticize the status quo, but fearfully formulate intellectual horizons which will be a substitute for all of this. Our imagination is still protesting, but it is also tiring. And because of this it is quite natural that we involve ourselves only when events crop up, but quickly move off when we are creating some fundamental intellectual directions."

And he pointed out some recidivist come-backs. Our creative laboratories bear the signs of our crisis. Our words can be very wise and critical, but

our form, our style becomes increasingly conservative, archaic, it seeks the authority of the past. We want to express our new dissatisfactions in an old form. Our moral anti-authoritative nature appears on the wing of the authoritativeness of tradition. We carry our defeats to the altar of the past to be absolved of our sins. "The demand that the state be as aesthetic as possible, and culture as authoritative as possible, is extremely illusory," according to Laszlo Vogel.

In itself, this meeting demonstrated how exaggerated are the forebodings that we live behind totalitarian bulwarks, because if it were so this meeting could not have taken place, nor would it be possible to hear all the exaggerations of naive idealism and cynical ill humor, as well as hear the elements comprising Brecht's warning that "the struggle against an ideology becomes a new ideology."

Jovan Deretic: It seems to me that things have changed, at least to the extent that events taking place now in the cultural sphere might not have the same dimensions that they did a year or two ago, and perhaps might not break out. This is not because other, more important matters might have arrived on the political agenda. By no means does it signify that artistic works are not important. They are important, but in a different, more essential way which is more appropriate to their nature, a way which cannot be described by the language of politics. That is why there is no reason for us, as the creators of culture, to regret the passing of this situation. On the contrary, we must do everything we can to see that it doesn't return, so that nothing provokes new situations, and if they do come about we must see that they are not overemphasized, because this can lead to obscuring the social climate, and not to clearing it up. I am not talking about all of this in order to find justification for court-ordered prohibitions of artistic works, a point to which our country is coming. I have no reason nor desire to defend these measures. But I do not believe in overstating events and basing a judgment on the entire situation on them, in creating the impression that because of a few prohibitions repression is an essential characteristic of our cultural policy. This opinion has not actually been expressly formulated, but it can be perceived from many reports. Some things are stated and stressed in such a way that one might get the impression that there is nothing so prevalent in our country as the use of various forms of pressure on culture and on the creators of culture, from the time of the war to the present. And all things considered this is not true; it is not true when the postwar period as a whole is in question, and it is not true now. Repression does not dominate our cultural policy.

It is with justification that people stress the great contribution our literature has made in affirming Yugoslavia's place in the world. But we might ask ourselves this question: has it played this role in spite of politics, contrary to the policies which this country has carried out in its foreign and domestic plan, or with its help and support? I think we can agree that the latter is true. For quite some time, politics in our country has excelled in the fight against dogmatism, has opened up new perspectives for all types of freedom, even the freedom of artistic and scientific creativity which has been completely affirmed in the program of

the LCY. And with regard to the affirmation of our country in the world, the greatest contributions to this affirmation have been the Yugoslav self-management model of socialism, followed by our struggle for full equality in inter-nation relations, nonalignment, and only then, after many unoccupied places, by our contribution in art and culture.

In spite of the fact that it has always had admirers in the world, our creative spirit has never received the kind of recognition it really deserves. This was the case during the period before the revolution, and for some time later, although after the revolution we made greater cultural breakthroughs in the world.

I don't think that the claim that we became deaf to the value of those writers who were on the other side during the revolution can be accepted either. On the contrary, we have shown a great deal of openness to the value of these works from the very beginning. Even those writers who had been in exile have been able to have a literary, or a literal, return to the country (as in the case of R. Petrovic, or Crnjanski). Nor has the relationship to writers who were condemned because of collaboration with the occupiers become severely restricted. After a certain amount of time even their works began to be printed or reprinted, as long as they had some value. Perhaps only those writers whose wartime misdeeds were greater than the value of their literary deeds have been put to the side.

The idea that internalization of social and political responsibility is one of the characteristics of our policy with regard to culture is interesting and undoubtedly true. However, is it obligatory that the application of this model leads to negative consequences, such as limited (editorial) censorship, self-censorship, and the like? Or does this introduce the individual factor, the factor of collective and individual evaluation in the creation of culture? Do the editors in our publishing houses behave as blind executors of political demands, as unofficial censors, for whom the most important thing is that a book be politically innocent? Or do they perhaps go for the good book, and especially for the book that the readers are after? From where does so much politicized literature in our country come, in spite of frowns of politicians and headaches of editors? Many creative artists have come into conflict with official policy in our country.

And the opportunity to carry out their artistic or scientific accomplishments has not been denied them anyway. There is no secret literature, no secret publishers in our country. As we have seen, everything has two sides, and we cannot arrive at a complete insight into things on the basis of a one-sided interpretation of isolated events, however unpleasant these events might otherwise be to all of us.

Finally, just a word or two about the delicacy of the time in which we are discussing these questions. The present slowdown in the development of our social relationships, of our model of socialism, and the crisis in which we find ourselves, has repressive consequences in all areas of social life, and even in culture. Here and there this is demonstrated in administrative

prohibitions and much more frequently in the creation of an extremely unfavorable social climate in which everyone suspects someone of something, and everyone seeks the culprit for mutual misfortunes in someone else. Our isolation of everyone within their own borders, our homogenization on a national, territorial, and even religious basis, binds us all, makes it impossible to do anything, paralyzes our will.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN ORTHODOX PRIEST REPORTS ON SITUATION IN KOSOVO

Belgrade PRAVOSLAVIJE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 85 pp 9-10

[Article by Atanasije Jevtic: "Pleas for Help from Metohija and Kosovo"]

[Text] It has been almost a year now since I have reported from Kosovo and Metohija although I have been there several times in the intervening period (a full twenty days last summer, about a week last autumn, and then twice again). On those occasions I met many times with people of Kosovo, both in and out of Kosovo and Metohija as well as in Jasenovac at the dedication of the Church of the New Martyrs in September 1984.

Although the mass media, including the press, have spoken many times during this period about the condition and events in Kosovo and Metohija (which, as someone recently said, are going through "a conciliatory symbiosis of opinions" on "the ever-improving political-security situation" and on the unfortunate fact "that the (forced) migration of the non-Albanian population continues"), I would like to call to mind here some of the not only unfortunate but also tragic events that have taken place during this time. I would begin with the territory of Metohija, not so much because of the inclement weather that has recently struck there, and especially Djakovica and its surroundings, but more because of two sad cases of suffering that have befallen Serbs in and around Djakovica.

First of all, there is the publicly-known story of grief surrounding the Serbian Saric family from the village of Mece near Djakovica, whose household head, Miodrag, was murdered about two years ago by his Albanian neighbors, the Krasnici; now they are threatening to kill the [present] head of the orphaned and impoverished family, 20-year old Arsen (whose soul-stirring letter pleading for help was published recently by ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA on 12/25/84 and in VECERNJE NOVOSTI on 1/8/85).

Miodrag Saric's murderer, Ded Krasnici and the Krasnici family (comprising about 20 households), are not only Albanians but also, unfortunately, Christians of the Roman Catholic persuasion, a fact not mentioned in the press, just as there was no mention that the deceased Miodrag was buried according to [Serbian] Orthodox rites, as was the case with the victim of a previous murder, Danilo Milancic of Samodreza near Vucitrn in Kosovo.

How then can we, as Orthodox Christians, deal with the truly hopeless situation of the four young Sarics (brothers Arsen, Branko and Mitar and sister

Zorica) and their mother Smiljka (because moving into the apartment offered them in Djakovica is no solution at all for them), except to continue to pray to God to protect them from the hands of the fiends, and to enlighten the Krasnici neighbors and make them understand and believe that, as Christians, no one's future can be built on hatred and evil, not even theirs.

In any case, of all that we have heard and read of the Saric family, the most moving words are those spoken by mother Smiljka: "I am amazed at how those who write in the newspapers that the situation here is quieting down, that migration is stopping, feel no shame.. And where will the poor people go? They are the only ones to remain because they have no place to go."

In Djakovica, again, we heard and know, as we have for a long time, that they want to evacuate well-known Serbian Street for "urban planning reasons," even though it is common knowledge, as witnessed by the inhabitants themselves, that "in most cases, evacuation would mean evacuation not only from the street but also from Djakovica," and therefore from Metohija and Kosovo.

I remember well, and this was known to me from the time I served in the Djakovica Serbian Orthodox Church located on Serbian Street, that a considerable number of our Orthodox brothers who are Gypsies-Roms live on that street (these are people with whom, in the village of my birth, my family has exchanged visits for decades; they have been godparents to each other's children, helped each other out on a daily basis, especially on saints days and at other times of household and family festivity and misfortune). On many occasions these precious youngsters and teenagers of Serbian Street have sung, when I held mass - the Holy Liturgy, in children's and teenagers' choirs in Djakovica's modest but beautiful and well-tended church. This is why I am particularly pained by the inhumane and other kinds of blindness afflicting the authorities in Djakovica and beyond who want to destroy and evacuate - at any cost - Serbian Street, whose inhabitants have sustained themselves here for centuries "only because they were united and stood together; and today, as they themselves complain, "there are forces who want to evacuate us." (More about this was written by M. Misovic in ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA of 12/4/84). Djakovica and that whole area of Metohija have been almost emptied of Serbs and other non-Albanian inhabitants anyway, and this elimination continues, voluntarily, by force, and by both methods.

But let us return to certain other events that have taken place in gentle Metohija. In June of 1984, in the night between Friday and Saturday (June 9 and 10), in the village of Dvorane near Musutiste (in the Suva Reka commune), 29 headstones in the Serbian Orthodox Cemetery, at the site called Sveti Spas [Holy Salvation], were destroyed. The newspapers took note of this, too, stating among other things that "everyone believes this to be the work of irredentists in an effort to get the Serbs to move out (ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA of 6/19/84). Also noted was the statement made by Krsta Nikolic of Dvorane: The authorities "must be more efficient when damage is done in the fields, or when we are threatened, because this is the kind of pressure brought to bear by the Albanian irredentists to alarm the Serbs so that they would move out and [the irredentists] would take their place. Little has been done about this so far."

Let us turn to that which has not been recorded or announced in public: the crime of desecration and destruction of the Serbian Orthodox Cemetery which took place on the eve of All Souls' Day, with the vicious intent to bring as much grief and insult as possible to the Christian Serbs who would come the next day, on All Souls' Day, to visit the graves of their dear and precious ones, some of which were only a few days old when desecrated and demolished. It should also be emphasized that the demolishing of 20 large headstones and heavy tombstones could only have been done by a group of strong people with heavy-duty metal levers, and that this would have had to take quite a long time, during which someone would have had to keep vigil. At least this was what was said and assumed by the peasantry from Dvorane and Musutiste, and they know best the conditions in which they live and suffer.

It is not important how this is going to be understood, but I would communicate the fact that during that very same time Kosovo and Metohija was visited by about 20 functionaries, members of the three Religious Commissions of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. Some warm welcome they were given (in any case, similar to the one I received while staying in Metohija at that same time)! And I say this somewhat in the context of the statement made by Rahman Morina, Secretary of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs, who, in speaking about the situation and activities of irredentists in Kosovo, charged no more and no less than "the Serbian Orthodox Church which, through propaganda about the 'threat to Serbianism in Kosovo,' is attempting to identify religious affiliation with nationalism," and how, according to him and others, this serves "to help the irredentists!" The poor Serbian Orthodox Church and its believers in Kosovo. They are guilty even when they complain and when they raise their voices in pleas for help and human protest. It is almost like that fable in which the lamb muddled the water downstream and this angered the wolf.

The real relationship between the Serbian Church and the Albanian irredentists in Kosovo is best shown by the event that took place last autumn during the dedication of the restored church in the village of Rabovac near Urosevac (on Sunday, September 16, 1984). On Saturday, the eve of the dedication, after the mass held in the Church of the Great Sunday Martyr in that village (where there are about 50 Serbian and more Albanian homes), Episcopate Pavle of Rasko-Prizren retired to his quarters in the home of his host Vladimir Spasic, and that same night two haystacks belonging to the host were set ablaze. Perhaps this was their way of thanking Bishop Pavle for the "help" spoken of by those responsible for implementing generally-compulsory "leveling" in tragic Kosovo. In return, on the other hand, Bishop Pavle, in making the rounds of the scene of the fire with his host, encouraged the latter to take this low blow, "struck against all of us," with Christian endurance, and after the dedication of the church he spoke to the gathered people "of peace and love toward all" and of Christian tolerance. There you have Bishop Pavle, for decades a known martyr, personally victimized in troubled Kosovo and Metohija.

After the third successive fire to take place last summer in the Monastery of Devic, Bishop Pavle visited Nebih Gasi, president of the Presidium of Kosovo, and according to Tanjug's news release (of August 9 and in POLITIKA of

August 10, 1984), Nebih Gasi spoke to Pavle about "the development of normal relations between church and state," that this is "in the general interest," and these relations "are developing normally, and future efforts should be made to ensure their promotion," etc. The newspaper PRAVOSLAVLJE, of course, carried this news release (from POLITIKA in its September 1, 1984 issue). But in the issue of October 15, 1984, it carried the brief but clear report submitted by Bishop Pavle to the Holy Synod regarding the fire of 9 haystacks in the Monastery of Devic in the night between August 7 and 8, 1984, and also about a fire on the previous night (August 6, 1984) of corncribs belonging to Radoje Smigic, an Orthodox Serb from the village of Drsnik near Klin (Metohija), whose damages were assessed at over one million old dinars. Bishop Pavle also reported that "at the same time an Orthodox woman, aged 54, was raped in Belo Polje near Pec. Five days earlier, on August 2, 1984, a Serbian child of 12 was raped after she had come from Titovo Mitrovica to visit an uncle in the village of Ljubenic. The perpetrators of these two assaults were Albanians, one 18 years old and the other 50. Bishop Pavle added that all this has caused great anxiety and bitterness to our believers in these areas. Other than expressions of sympathy and promises, we do not see that the authorities have undertaken any more effective measures to put a stop to such outrages."

It should be added that the people who committed some of these crimes and misdeeds, especially the repulsive and sadistic rapings (about which, unfortunately, some communists in the village of Ljubenic and some reporters for OMLADINSKE NOVINE in Belgrade and SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Split spoke with cynical arrogance), were arrested soon after and sentenced to what they rightfully deserved.

It should also be added that numerous other misdeeds have been and are still being committed against the homes, property, honor and lives of Orthodox Serbs throughout Metohija and Kosovo, for which the guilty parties and perpetrators have neither been arrested nor punished.

For example, the home of Milos Vlaskovic in Mazgit near Obilic was stoned twice (in the night between September 20 and 21, 1984), and some officials still think that this was done by "chicken thieves!" An older woman (57 years of age) of Serbian nationality was raped on the night between September 20 and September 21, 1984 in Staro Selo near Urosevac (subsequently, Bajram Zeka of that same village was charged and brought to trial). In the second half of September 1984, one morning the sun rose on the Podujevo Commune building to reveal the large and bold slogan "Kosovo Republic: (10-odd meters long and about half a meter high). In the apartment of Zivko Trivic of Pec, on November 28, 1984 explosives were thrust down the chimney, and this set fire to two doors in the apartment and caused the bricks to fly. Fortunately, no one was killed even though the whole family had been assembled in the apartment. The only person injured was a guest in the home, Momir Bulatovic, but the injuries he sustained to the head were mild. In the same city of Pec, in the Autumn of 1984, Jovan Ilickovic, a social worker and communist, committed suicide "after having written a hundred briefs to authorities from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs and Pec Commune Assembly to the Assembly of Kosovo and the Assembly of Serbia, in which he complained about the pressure and gave the full names (of the perpetrators), and because no one gave him any

assistance" (this is written about in more detail by T. Milic in POLITICKI SVET of November 28, 1984). In the Pec Patriarchate, the sisters of the order have been harassed and have had stones thrown at them several times in the last year, but everything has remained the same. They have gotten used to it and are not even voicing complaints.

I think there is no point in continuing to mention and cite other similar cases of pressure and violence committed by individuals or groups from the not so small ranks of Albanian irredentists in Kosovo and Metohija against Serbian and other inhabitants of our Palestine. This can be found in abundance in the press, as can various, frequently differing accounts and explanations of this as well as of the continuous flow of forced migration of Serbs from Kosovo.

For example, I would recount only several of the relevant headlines in the press: "Moving Out Continues;" "Migration is Not Subsiding;" "The Court is Slow - Migration Accelerates;" "No Real Reduction in the Climate of Insecurity;" "There is No Pressure - Only on Paper;" "Obvious There are Substantial Differences in the Assessment of Causes of Migration;" "Conditions are Better - Migration Continues;" "More Than 13,000 Serbs and Montenegrins Have Left the Province of Kosovo over the Last Three Years;" "Endless Columns," etc., etc.

I would also cite the typical statement made recently by Pero Grk of the Yugoslav Veterans' Federation: "Not only has there been no halt to the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, which is the result of enemy and irredentist pressures, but, unfortunately, this process is continuing at an unrestrainable pace" (INTERVJU 1/18/85). Or the statement made of Prof. Dr. Halit Trnavci (in a letter to NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE 1/13/85): "The fact of the matter is that not even after four years has a favorable situation been created in Kosovo, the same amount of time it took us to defeat a powerful enemy - German fascism in World War Two." There are still many good and honorable people who are honestly looking at the truth in Kosovo and for whom, as for us, the key problem regarding Kosovo and Metohija was and is the irrepressible forced migration of Serbs which slowly but surely enables the implementation of a racist idea in "an ethnically pure Kosovo" (similar to how South African racism wants to create "an ethnically pure Afrikaaner republic").

It is alarming even to think about Kosovo today, much less to write about it. One does not know whether to scream from pain or to weep quietly from the bottom of one's soul, the way many Orthodox Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija wept at last autumn's visit of the Russian Patriarch to our holy sites and believers in that "terrible place of judgment" of ours, as Bishop Njegos would have said. You feel like weeping because weeping encourages tolerance in a person as well as the resolution to persevere under suffering in the name of God and in the name of justice.

Still, as flesh and blood mortals, with a soul like any other human being, you are hurt by the injustice and violence, and the sometimes cynical statements and the fuss about what was said and not said (a Kosovo practice that has taken root in our era) are like a stab in the heart, while in reality

positions of power and brutality speak and pass judgment. I suffered a similar pain at the dedication of the New Martyrs Church in Jasenovac, immediately following the ceremonial and dignified gathering for the liturgy at that most solemn of all Serbian gravesites, when some functionaries and authorities were ironic about our Christian forgiveness and the reminder that evil should not be forgotten - lest it be repeated. But let them have their way. Everyone's good and bad deeds will see the light of day. And we are already witnessing this, especially in Metohija and Kosovo over the last few years.

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